DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 059 312 UD 012 070

TITLE	Equal Educational Opportunity: Hearings Before the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity of the United States Senate, Nine-Second Congress, First Session on Equal Educational Opportunity. Part 19B--Equal Educational Opportunity in Michigan. Hearings Held Washington, D.C., September 29, October 1, and November 3-4, 1971.
INSTITUTION	Congress of the U.S., Washington, D.C. Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity.
PUB DATE	[Nov 71]
NOTE	291p.; Committee Print, Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity
AVAILABLE FROM	Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 (Price not known)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$9.87
DESCRIPTORS	Bus Transportation; Compensatory Education Programs; *Educational Finance; *Educational Needs; *Educational Opportunities; Educational Quality; Educational Resources; *Equal Education; Federal Aid; Resource Allocations; School Districts; School Integration; State Aid; State Surveys
IDENTIFIERS	*Michigan

ABSTRACT

In these hearings, the following witnesses presented testimony: Dr. Edward B. Fort, superintendent, Inkster Public Schools; Dr. Norman Drachler, former school superintendent, Detroit; Raymond Sreboth, superintendent, Benton Harbor Area Schools; Richard Ziehmer, superintendent, Covert Public Schools; Edward C. McKinney, superintendent, Baldwin Public Schools; William B. Krieger, superintendent, Mackinac Island School District; Dr. Dana Whitmer, superintendent, Pontiac Public Schools; John K. Irwin, president, Pontiac School Board; Mrs. Robert C. Anderson, president, PTA Council, Pontiac, Michigan; Elbert Hatchett, president, Pontiac Chapter, N.A.A.C.P.; Mrs. Irene McCabe, chairman, National Action Group, Pontiac, Mich.; Mrs. Judith Hussey, bus supervisor, Pontiac City School System; Mrs. Carole Sweeney, mother, Pontiac; Mrs. Marie Johnson, chairman, Pontiac Neighborhood Education Center; Mrs. Jo Ann Walker, reading teacher, Pontiac City School System; and, Mrs. Patricia Johnson, teacher, Pontiac City School System. (JM)

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY—1971

ED 059312

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

OF THE

UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

PART 19B—EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN MICHIGAN

WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPT. 29; OCT. 1; NOV. 3, 4, 1971

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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Printed for the use of the
Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1971

69-8280

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EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN MICHIGAN

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1971

U.S. SENATE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
Washington, D.C.

The Select Committee met at 11:20 a.m., in room 1318, of the New Senate Office Building, the Honorable Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senator Mondale.

Staff members present: William C. Smith, staff director and general counsel; and, Donn Mitchell, professional staff.

Senator MONDALE. The committee will come to order.

Continuing our hearing this morning, we will hear from Dr. Edward B. Fort, superintendent of the Inkster Public Schools, Inkster, Michigan.

If you would please take the witness stand.

Dr. Fort, you have a long prepared statement which I will read; I have not read it as yet. We will include it in the record* as though read, and you may wish to emphasize certain points during the testimony. Proceed as you wish.

STATEMENT OF DR. EDWARD B. FORT, SUPERINTENDENT, INKSTER PUBLIC SCHOOLS, INKSTER, MICHIGAN

Dr. FORT. That is correct.

Mr. Chairman, what I would like to do in the next 25 minutes is to sift from within the pages of the presentation that the Chair or the committee have before them the pertinent and relevant material that pertains to four areas of concentration which are these:

1. I would like to in succinctly defined terms describe a history of the racial and social economic injustice which has prevailed in the city school district of Inkster, Michigan, which coincidentally is located approximately 25 minutes from the campus of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

2. To review very quickly and briefly the 1967–1968 fiscal crisis which materialized in Inkster.

3. To depict as graphically as possible the discrepancies of financiality that exist between Inkster and its more affluent neighbors to the east, specifically the district of Dearborn, Michigan.

*See prepared statement, p. 9629.

4. To graphically depict if possible the interrelatedness between the *California Property Tax* decision, the *Judge Steven Roth* decision which was just rendered two days ago, as relates to the matter of racial desegregation in the immediate tri-county area of Oakland, Wayne and Macomb Counties and the alternative decisions to the Inkster problem as tied in with the *California* decision and the *Roth* decisions.

Senator MONDALE. That would be excellent. If you can do that in 25 minutes, you can have my job.

Dr. FORT. I think I can.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF DISTRICT

Now, as far as the school district itself is concerned, the district is located in the City of Inkster, approximately 5 miles west of the city limit of Dearborn and approximately 25 minutes, as I indicated earlier, from the campus of the University of Michigan.

I came to this district as the superintendent in 1967, and I have been there for some few months over and above 4 years.

The City of Inkster was originally incorporated as a village in 1967, and the population at that time was 4,000. Since then, the population has grown to approximately 45,000 people, less than 50 percent of whom are black.

In 1963, the village lost a considerably large portion of its industrialized tax base to the eastern fringe of the all-white suburban community of Dearborn Heights. And as a result, the city fathers a year later made the decision to incorporate the area into a city so as to prevent further loss of territory.

I might note parenthetically that this city was originally founded and named after the Scottish immigrant, Mr. Robert Inkster, who coincidentally was a close personal friend of the first Henry Ford.

I would also note parenthetically that it was Mr. Ford who, in the formative days of the founding of the Ford empire, was responsible for bringing into the area, of what was then a village, large numbers of black and Appalachian white workers for purposes of manning the assembly lines of the Ford industrialized complex in Dearborn.

I would also note that since 1927, as the adjacent area of Dearborn became increasingly affluent, the area of Inkster became increasingly racially isolated and concurrently economically disadvantaged. And as a result—and I would perceive that this was not merely the result of historical happenstance—five separately operated, physically independent school districts materialized, each touching on a portion of what was then and still is the City of Inkster.

It should be noted specifically that of these five districts only one was racially isolated to the extent of 86-percent black. The other four, including the districts of Wayne, Taylor, Westwood and Cherry Hill, ranged in Caucasian population from 66-percent white to 95-percent-plus white. And yet, there are those who would have us believe that this kind of racial isolation was simply the result of the aligning of cow pastures at the time that the various five districts within this area were initially formed.

Additionally, it is a documented reality from a historical point of view, the District of Inkster was one of the few in the entire Macomb,

Wayne, Oakland area—that is the tri-county area—that would actually hire black certified professional teachers in the 1940's and 1950's. And as a matter of fact, it is because of this situation that that district now has an overwhelmingly predominent preponderance of black professionals, many of whom have Master's degrees, because of the fact that they just were not able to secure positions elsewhere in the metro area.

I would also suggest the fact, in conclusion, that the City of Inkster is historically a district and a city that has little industry. It is the so-called bedroom community syndrome. It has a public library of only 22,700 volumes. It has no theater; it has no public auditorium. There is no modern shopping center within its confines. The residents, therefore, are forced to travel elsewhere in the Detroit metropolitan area for purposes of taking advantage of the cultural facilities elsewhere.

I would also note parenthetically that the average annual family income in the City of Inkster does not exceed, on the basis of the latest figure that I have, $6,000 a year.

And finally, the District of Inkster has a State equalized assessed valuation of $40 million total or approximately $8,137 per child.

I would note concurrently that despite this fact, the school district itself is currently levying a millage of 39.9 mills—one of the top 15 in the entire county. And this figure includes 7 mills for debt retirement.

1967–68 Fiscal Crisis

Now, as a preamble to phase two of this presentation, let me very quickly hop, skip and jump through the fiscal crisis we lived through in 1967–1968.

At the time that I came to the district as the new superintendent in April of 1967, it became discernibly obvious after 2 weeks on the job that I had inherited a rather horrendous financial mess. As a matter of fact, the preliminary audits clearly substantiated the fact that the deficit approximated $1,047,000 for the 1967–68 school year.

Budget projections for later in the year clearly indicated the fact that there would be insufficient funds for purposes of continuing the operation of this district through June of 1968 .And as a matter of fact, because of these realities hurried conferences were held—involving officials in the Wayne County School District as well as from the State Department of Education in Lansing—emphasizing the reality that the then existing cash projections clearly showed that the cash reserve was dwindling to a sum of approximately $20,000 after the first pay period in December of 1967. That in view of the fact that the operating payrolls for that year, which approximated $28,000, consumed approximately 81 percent of the total budget, payless paydays were inevitable.

As a matter of fact, they would come as early as February of the following year.

So it appeared we would have to have at least $900,000 of funds for purposes of concluding the 1967–68 school year.

Without going into the details relating to what kinds of action were taken for purposes of eliminating this horrendous financial condition, it will suffice to indicate that the Board of Education and the Admin-

istration hit upon a plan which involved the massive initiation of a lobbying campaign in Lansing—designed to secure the funds necessary to enable the school district to complete the then school year.

The financial condition of the district reached the climax in terms of severity in March of 1968, when I recommended to the board that the projected expenditures for the following fiscal year be curtailed to the extent of $500,000 through the elimination of 44 teacher positions, one principalship, a couple of secretaries, the director of pickup and transportation.

Let me emphasize the fact that this action was a recommendation in terms of a preview of coming attractions for the following school year.

With respect to how to complete the then current school year of 1967–68, it became necessary for us to devise procedures whereby Lansing was going to be made aware of the fact that our situation was one of student bankruptcy.

As a result, the plan was devised whereby 300 parents rode to Lansing on buses and following the presentation of testimony before a joint committee of the House and Senate Education Committees, it was decided that a bill would be introduced on the floor of the House.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Fort, could I interrupt? What was your per capita student expenditure level at the time, approximately?

Dr. FORT. The per capita student expenditure level was approximately $650. This was 1967–68.

Senator MONDALE. How did that compare with the statewide average, if you know?

Dr. FORT. The statewide average, as I recall, for 1967–68 was approximately $850.

Senator MONDALE. What are you spending now?

Dr. FORT. The District of Inkster at the current time is spending $715 per child.

Senator MONDALE. Do you know what the statewide average is now?

Dr. FORT. The statewide average at the present time was $900 plus.

Senator MONDALE. You consistently stayed about $200 to $250 behind the average?

Dr. FORT. The average. That is correct.

Senator MONDALE. I suppose there are adjoining school districts with $500 and $600?

Dr. FORT. As a matter of fact, on the positive side, greater than that—as I will indicate momentarily. The discrepancy widens, particularly if you refer to the more affluent district, for example, of Dearborn.

MILLION DOLLAR FUND ESTABLISHED

Now to summarize as far as the financial crisis of 1968 was concerned, the State House passed House Bill 3332 which established a $1 million fund. This fund enabled the district to eliminate its indebtedness in terms of operation funds to the extent of $705,000. It was decided as a part of this bill that this money would be paid back to the district at the rate of 6-percent interest for the first $305,000 and at the rate of 5-percent interest for the remaining $400,000.

It is interesting to note that, prior to the conceptualization and passage of this legislation, the parents who were involved in the busing episode on the Lansing Legislature indicated the fact that if Governor Romney—who at that time was campaigning for the Republican nomination for the Presidency in New Hampshire—did not lend the stature of his leadership and capacity behind these parental efforts, then the local constituency would charter buses that would be designed ultimately to follow him to New Hampshire. The spokesman for the Governor of the State suggested that Superintendent Fort was engaged in a Democratic-contrived plot for purposes of embarrassing the Governor.

Well, that is the story of the financial crisis of 1967–68.

Let me zero in here to phase three, which pertains to the situation that developed between Inkster and the surrounding districts, the chief one being the all-white city of Dearborn.

I am thoroughly convinced, having reviewed in some detail, the recently completed California State Supreme Court decision on *Serrano* versus *Priest*, et al, that "the quality of education for school aged children is a function of the wealth of the children's parents and neighbors as measured by the tax base of the school district in which said "children reside." And furthermore, the quality of education for school-age children becomes a function of the geographical accident of the school district in which said children reside and present schemes for financing public school districts in these States"—and, of course, Inkster is the classic example, and let me zero in on what I mean by that.

In the County of Wayne there are 39 school districts. The range in terms of State assessed valuation per child is from $8,000—and these are round figures—to a total of $60,000 for the biracial district of River Rouge. In Grosse Pointe, the all-silk-stocking area, the SEV is $29,000 per child; Dearborn, $39,000 behind each child; and Oak Park, $36,000 behind each child.

Now the proof of the pudding with respect to the validity of the California decision is precisely in the fact that there are some districts that can levy 1 mill; and, on the basis of that mill levy, secure five and even 10 times as much money as their less fortunate and less affluent neighbor. For example, Inkster on the basis of the levy of 1 mill can raise only $40,000 in local moneys. Conversely, Dearborn, less than 5 miles to the east, can raise $903,000 with 1 mill. Warren Consolidated—the all-white district that recently refused to accept Federal funds from HUD for purposes of involving themselves in urban renewal programs on a biracial basis—can receive $660,000 as far as one child is concerned in terms of milled levy. Finally, Oak Park can receive $204,000.

Now notice the fact that in almost every case that I have cited that without exception the districts that are able to secure the highest amount of total return from 1 millage of levy are overwhelmingly Caucasian. The only two exceptions are Inkster, which is all black to all intents and purposes, and the district of Muskegon Heights, which is comparable in size to Inkster, only 4,000 children, and which is approximately 79-percent black. For 1 mill of levy, they are able to secure only $51,000 or about $10,000 more than the district of Inkster.

COMPARISON BETWEEN INKSTER AND DEARBORN

So you see, the situation that we have here is one wherein, as indicated by the California State Supreme Court, the wealthy school districts are in effect literally able to have their cake and eat it, too.

Now let me depict five areas of massive economic discrepancy between Inkster and the model of Dearborn.

In Inkster, in terms of quickening developing, there is only a basic textbook per child at all levels of instruction, K-through-12. In some rooms there are no textbooks, and as a result we have to resort to the ingenuity of teacher creativity for purposes of devising instructional procedure. Conversely, in Dearborn on a K-through-12 basis there is a multiple textbook approach.

Fact number two, science laboratory facilities in Inkster are available only in the areas of biology, physics and chemistry at the high school level. Conversely, science laboratories in Dearborn are available at the junior high school level, the high school level, and also at the elementary school level.

Fact number three, there is only one high school in Inkster. That one high school has one library. That library has less than 2,500 volumes. Conversely, on the flip-side of the coin, Dearborn has several high schools, all of which have no fewer in terms of library facilities, than 3,500 volumes apiece.

Number four, Inkster's current expenditure is $715 per child. Conversely, as far as expenditures per child are concerned, in the district of Dearborn the average is $1,595—the highest in the county of Wayne.

And finally, fact number five, as far as Inkster is concerned most buildings in that district are more than 15 years old. In fact, we have two that are over 25 years old. Conversely, the majority of the buildings in Dearborn are less than 15 years old; and as a matter of fact, several which have been constructed within the last 10 years are being phased out in terms of student utilization because of the dwindling school population.

So these, Mr. Chairman, are the facts as they relate to the issue of the obvious discrepancy that exists between the "haves" and the "have nots."

And so I would strongly suggest that the kinds of recommendations and observations that were made by the former State Superintendent of Instruction, Dr. Ira Polley, who is now at the University of Michigan, are very definite in principle. He indicated in September of 1968 the following:

> . . . the present system of financing schools in Michigan [and I would assert that this is applicable to the other 49 states, with the possible exclusion of the state of Hawaii] has five major shortcomings, which are (1) the system is inadequate, (2) it is unfair and produces inequalities, (3) it is illogical and irrational, (4) it is unrealistic, and (5) it fogs responsibility and authority.

In elaborating on this thesis Dr. Polley asserts that it is inadequate because, in accordance with statistical data available in the 1967–68 school year when he was superintendent, whereas Michigan per pupil expenditures were estimated at an average of $628—which is the figure I referred to earlier. Conversely the figures for New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and California, respectively, were $982, $807, $715 and $685.

The system, according to Dr. Polley, is unfair and unequal because under the present arrangement, if one district has a State equalized assessed valuation of $5,000—and, of course, he was referring to Inkster, which was the figure at that time—and another district has a valuation of $30,000 per pupil—and, of course, that was the Dearborn district—then clearly the poorer system has to levy taxes six times that of the wealthy if it expects to raise from local taxes amounts comparable to those raised in the wealthy districts.

Poor Districts are Minority Districts

Therefore, in conclusion, I would assert that the problem that we have in Inkster is one which relates not only to the reality that this system is economically disadvantaged; but also, it relates concurrently to the reality that the system is racially isolated. And the fact very clearly remains that in Michigan those systems that have the least amount of industrialized tax roll behind each child concurrently tend to be the districts that have disproportionately large numbers of children who are black, Chicano, or Appalachian white.

I would assert the time has come for some kind of solution to be found as a means of seeing to it that the kind of description of the ghetto that exists today does not become an ongoing reality.

You will recall, for example, that the nationally known psychologist, Dr. Kenneth Clarke, in his treatise, "Dark Ghetto," asserted the following, and I quote Dr. Clarke:

> **The symptoms of lower class society afflict the Dark Ghettos of America—low aspiration, poor education, family instability, illegitimacy, unemployment, crime, drug addiction, and alcoholism, frequent illness and early death. Why? Because blacks begin with the primary affliction of inferior racial status, the burdens of despair and hatred is more pervasive. Even initiative usually goes unrewarded as relatively few blacks succeed in moving beyond menial jobs, and those that do find racial discrimination everywhere they go.**

And so I would suggest that there is in fact—and this is the concluding point—a very definite and decided and positive relationship between the California decision—the *Serrano* decision—and ultimate solution to this problem.

You recall, for example, that in 1967 the Michigan State Legislature commissioned the nationally known financial consultant from the University of Chicago Research Center, Dr. J. Allen Thomas, to conduct a finance study in Michigan for purposes of determining the extent to which there was equality of educational opportunity in this State. He indicated the fact that no such equality existed. He concluded that the most favorable educational opportunities:

> **. . . are available to students who live in districts of (1) high per pupil state equalized assessed valuation, (2) high expenditures per pupil for education, (3) large size as measured by an enrollment of 5,000 or over, (4) high social class in terms of levels of income, quality of residence, and a preponderance of higher status occupations.**

Inequality—Ongoing Status Quo

This, therefore, would lead me to conclude that those who have fled the urban areas of cities—Detroit and Philadelphia to the so-called havens of safety of Dearborn, Grosse Pointe, Birmingham, and

Beverly Hills, California—have done so because of the fact that they are aware of the reality that equality of educational opportunity is being systematically and deliberately, with malice aforethought, promulgated in this country as a means of seeing that the inequality of educational opportunity becomes an ongoing status quo. Now as a result we find that the children who have not, continue to have not, whereas those who have, continue to grow more affluent.

I was appalled, for example, at the statement that was made by the Mayor of the city of Beverly Hills shortly after the California court released the statement wherein he asserted—and I think I am paraphrasing as I quote—"that if, in fact, this decision stands the test of litigation at a higher level that it will result in the so-called lighthouse school districts"—and he is referring to Beverly Hills—"being dragged down to the level of the lesser districts," end quote. Of course, what the good Mayor is admitting is what we have known has been the case for years in this country. The fact that those who have not, particularly from the perspective of public school education, continue to have not.

And so I would surmise, in conclusion, that something has to be done as a means of eliminating these kinds of disparities.

Financial Reform

One of the things I would certainly suggest the committee be involved in at least taking a long hard look at, is this. It is two pronged. Number one, to review in some depth the composition of the school finance study that was presented a few years ago by Dr. J. Allen Thomas. He indicated that perhaps the statewide tax is the route to go. Number two, the suggestion that was made by Dr. Mark Shedd as quoted in Time magazine recently as he came before this committee. He indicated the following: That the Federal Government should nationalize the Nation's 25 largest city systems at a cost of $10 billion to $12 billion per year, without something more than pious pie in the sky. He further said that:

> . . . there won't be, in the words of one famous American, any urban public school systems left.

Finally, I would agree with Dr. Shedd that if, in fact, the Federal and State establishment does not take an avowed position of support for the thesis that the inequality of educational opportunity that exists in this Nation is nothing more than a disavowance of the 14th amendment of the Constitution, then obviously there will certainly be more inequalities.

That's it.

Senator Mondale. Thank you very much for your most excellent statement, and one which very clearly spells out the kind of handicaps under which a school administrator operates when seeking to educate children in an underfinanced school system. I think you mentioned this at the beginning. What percentage of the schoolchildren in you system are black?

Dr. Fort. The school system, according to the Labor census, is approximately 87-percent black.

Senator MONDALE. And are there other minorities there?

Dr. FORT. Basically not, sir. There are one or two Chicano families, but it is totally biracial, white and black.

Senator MONDALE. And is it basically all poor? Do you have any sections——

Dr. FORT. There is one section of the system that contains a small pocket of affluent families that come from the semiwealth of teaching positions, registered nurses, several attorneys and several physicians. I would say that, perhaps, 80 percent of the district is economically disadvantaged. And at least 50 percent of that 80 percent is living on a family income level that can meet Title I standards.

Senator MONDALE. And do many of their children go to public schools in Inkster?

Dr. FORT. About half. The others are in private schools.

LOW REVENUE DISTRICT

Senator MONDALE. So that for many years now, since you came to the system in 1967, you have had to operate a school system which has a very low property value per pupil?

Dr. FORT. It is the lowest in the county's 39 districts.

Senator MONDALE. Despite an equity level double and triple some of the surrounding communities, you have been able to generate a per pupil spending level which is far below the average and which has run you in bankruptcy?

Dr. FORT. As a matter of fact, the only way in which this system has been able to survive aside from the $700,000 loan from the State is through Federal funds. For example, 2 years ago the system was forced to delay the opening of a $2 million junior high school building because it would take, on a 10-month basis, $250,000 to operate this building.

Senator MONDALE. You built a new building and it was empty.

Dr. FORT. Right. It was empty for a year. We were able to secure funds from the Federal Government under the special needs section of the 1968 amendments to the Vocational Education Act. This program has been expanded such that now we are fully utilizing that building—Federal funds, not local.

Senator MONDALE. In addition to these other problems, according to your testimony, you have some classes with no textbooks at all.

Dr. FORT. That is correct.

Senator MONDALE. You have science courses with no laboratories.

SALARY RANGE BELOW NORM

Dr. FORT. Right. And we have teachers whose salaries range $1,500 to $2,000 below the countywide norm depending on what range they are in.

Senator MONDALE. So when you compete in the teacher market you have to offer not only classrooms of disadvantaged children with teaching inadequacies, and I assume oversize classes, but you also have to offer prospective teachers a pay scale which is $1,500 to $2,000 beneath what they might get elsewhere?

Dr. FORT. Correct.

Senator MONDALE. Does that contribute quite a bit to the attractiveness of your offer?

Dr. FORT. Well, it contributes quite a bit to teacher strikes. We have a pretty good track. I have had three strikes in 4 years, and the main issue was salaries.

As far as the attractiveness of teachers is concerned, I would surmise the only reason why we are able to hold the system together from a personnel-teacher basis is because of the commitment of black and white staff. In other words, there are teachers in our system who—on a $2,000 salary differential, to the contrary notwithstanding—are willing to stay and do a job for the children.

Senator MONDALE. They are sacrificing?

Dr. FORT. They are sacrificing financially.

ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

Senator MONDALE. As I understand it, Michigan keeps more complete records on grade skill achievement levels than do most States.

Dr. FORT. That is correct, at the 4th and 7th grade levels.

Senator MONDALE. What is the achievement level of the children in the Inkster school?

Dr. FORT. For both the 4th and 7th grade test results our youngsters scored below the 50-percentile level.

Senator MONDALE. What does that mean?

Dr. FORT. That means if the national norm is 50 percent our youngsters are in the 30-percent range. As a result it means, in effect, that perhaps as many as 70 percent of the youngsters at grade four level—and I hate to use gradations, but this is the way the system works——

Senator MONDALE. I appreciate that.

Dr. FORT. It means that somewhere between 60 and 70 percent of the 4th graders who took that test are achieving below the 50-percentile level when you run a statistical correlation in terms of national norms.

Senator MONDALE. In other words, based on the test results, whether they are valid or not, 60 to 70 percent of the children score below 50 percent—the medium or mean of other children taking tests. By how much is the average student behind grade level in basic skills by the 7th grade? Or what was it, 4th grade?

Dr. FORT. Now I am getting to the area of generalizing, but if memory serves me correctly the youngsters tend to be by the time they reach grade 7 one grade level below. In other words, they are achieving at the 6th grade level. And in accordance with the data that Ken Clarke produced in his study in Harlem 5 years ago—and our results are basically the same—that gap tends to widen, such as by the time the youngster reaches grade 12 and takes the S.E.T. test the results are such that the children are achieving at the 10.5 level.

Senator MONDALE. So they are about 2½ years behind?

Dr. FORT. Right.

Senator MONDALE. What about absenteeism, what percentage?

Dr. FORT. Absenteeism does not tend to become a problem for our youngsters until they reach grade nine. That is the senior high school level. Then there is a recognizable increase in that incidence.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have a standard percentage you might expect to be missing on a given day?

Dr. FORT. Only in terms of dropout. I would suggest the dropout rate is about 10 percent of the graduating class. In other words, 10 percent of the children who enter grade 9 don't graduate at grade 12, 3 years later. But conversely—and this is interesting—a disproportionately large number of our high school graduates who do leave the stage with sheepskin in hand go on to some area of higher education. As a matter of fact, when compared with surrounding districts it is higher, it is disproportionately higher. I think the reason for this is the fact that these children have a commitment to—despite the kind of inequities they have gone through in 12 years of schooling in Inkster, they tend to realize the fact that education, ultimately higher education is the vehicle for achieving racial equality.

Senator MONDALE. In your opinion, with the budget funding that you have, are you able to deliver equal educational opportunity to children in Inkster?

Dr. FORT. No possible way that I can even close the gap between Inkster and Dearborn, or even Inkster and Detroit, without levying twice as many mills as the district is currently levying for purposes of coming up to one-third, if you will, of the kind of output that Dearborn, for example, can get.

See, we are talking about a ratio that is horrendously inadequate. For example, as I indicated earlier, for 1 mill we get $40,000, Dearborn gets $900,000 for 1 mill.

Now the folly of the system, as I indicated earlier, is the fact that the State-aid formula is supposed to close statistically the gap between those two mathematical differentials, but obviously this simply hasn't been the case.

Senator MONDALE. As a matter of fact, I saw one study of Michigan indicating that the State-aid formula aggravates it.

Dr. FORT. It does. It does with respect—when you get down to the minuscule data processes procedure of dollars-expended-per-one-child you will discover that the point that you just made is true. And we have been able to prove this, I might add, statistically on the basis of research that we have just received through State funding with the Educational Turnkey Company in Washington, D.C.

EXPENDITURES AND ACHIEVEMENT

Senator MONDALE. What do you say to the education researchers who claim that the relationship between money and achievement is yet to be established, therefore—before you get money you ought to have a new theory that assures that there is some relationship.

Dr. FORT. That is a totally inadequate and nonvalidated contention, and I would dare these so-called educational researchers to refute, for example, this contention. Scarsdale, New York, which is sitting on top of the highest level of affluent county which is in this country, is expending somewhere between $1,500 and $1,600 per child. They concurrently have one of the highest levels of pupil achievement, as based upon 5th grade test scores of any in the country. Why? Because

there was a relationship between expenditures per child and educational outcomes as measured by the standardized pupil achievement tests.

I think that the contention of these researchers is, if not intentional, it is by implication institutionalized racism in this respect. What they are doing is promulgating the thesis of Jensen, and as you recall, Dr. Jensen from the University of California, Berkeley, has asserted that black and Chicano kids inately are unable to compete in terms of anticipated learning outcomes at the same level of competency as are their concurrently operating white counterparts. Of course, if that is true, then the ultimate conclusion—as related to that contention—is the assertion that no matter how much money you spend on a child if he is black or Chicano you still will not get the same kind of correlation between his test score results and the test score results of the child who resides in Scarsdale, New York. And, of course, this is sheer nonsense, because, as a matter of fact, the Detroit Public School District on the basis of the conclusion of a 3-year $6 million program for inner city children--of which there were 2,000 in some six schools in the inner city—shows conclusively that on the basis of expending $1,200 per pupil for 3 years the levels of achievement were raised in this district, which contained only 84 white children and the remaining of that 2,000 were black.

Senator MONDALE. Is that a published study?

Dr. FORT. This is a published study. It is available from the office of Dr. Lewis Monacel, Assistant Superintendent for Special Studies in Detroit.

Senator MONDALE. He was supposed to testify before us.

Dr. FORT. This study answers your question in terms of; Number one, it disavows the contention, the racism contention of Jensen; Number two, it substantiates my contention that there definitely is a statistical correlation between input and educational outcome, the racial background of the child to the contrary notwithstanding.

Senator MONDALE. I agree with your comments. It is interesting that while these people say there is no relationship between money and quality of education, when it comes to their own children—you don't find the upper-middle-class white children in schools that spend $650 per pupil.

Dr. FORT. Never do. As a matter of fact, they generally end up in private schools where they spend $2,000 per child and have class size of 15 or 20.

Of course, the thing that bothers me, Senator, is the fact that this kind of system has consistently and repeatedly since the 1600's been used as the cloak for asserting—for having the unmitigated audacity to assert—there is equality of educational opportunity in this country. Of course this is a lie. It is subterfuge to the highest level of degree.

Senator MONDALE. Education is somewhere behind the old legal defense issue. You know, you used to have the right to counsel, only had to have the money to hire counsel. Now, finally, the court realized that this was a right without substance, thus the *Gideon* case ruled that you have to provide counsel. In the same sense, the right to equality in

education—which we assume exists—is without substance unless you deliver up the resources that permit you to provide equality in education. And that one thing is an arithmetical thing, equal dollars. But if you want true equality we must also realize that these children have been cheated many times in the sorts of things that we come to take for granted among the middle-class whites. If we want the educational system to help them, we have to give them even a little extra.

Dr. FORT. True.

INTEGRATION IRRELEVANT

Senator MONDALE. Well, this committee is supposed to be dealing with the problems of desegregation and integration. That is practically irrevelant in your case. You don't have any whites in your schools.

Dr. FORT. This is certainly obvious, and as a corollary to that statement, this is the reason I asserted 15 minutes ago that there is an interrelatedness between the decision in Detroit, the California decision, and the ultimate solution of this problem. Because, in Detroit, for example, what those who are opposed to the ritual of desegregation are interested in is to prevent the black disadvantaged youngster from crossing Eight Mile Road and moving into the sea of affluence, where he can get some of the goodies that exist in places like South Oak Park. Obviously the corollary continues as relates to the youngster moving from the nonaffluent arena of Inkster to the massive affluent arena of Dearborn public schools, 5 miles down the road.

Senator MONDALE. So when Coleman says the best you can do for a child is put him in a classroom with advantaged children, that doesn't mean anything to you? That is a strategy that has no value to you in Inkster?

Dr. FORT. Absolutely not. You see, I am convinced, the fact that Operation Breadbasket—Rev. Jesse Jackson from Chicago last year made a statement which I agree with. He said the name of the game is not one of seeking to resolve the issue really between integration and racial separation; but, instead, to admit the fact that the black child is not—through some kind of mystical system of osmosis—going to learn because of the fact and by virtue of the reality that he is physiologically located directly next to the white child. That isn't the case. That, instead, historically the capital has followed the white child; so, in fact, the only way the black child can get the same piece of the pie that the white counterpart has had for 300 years is by racial desegregation.

Senator MONDALE. And also, isn't there another point—that if you argue a black child can only learn when sitting next to a white child—that is a racist argument?

Dr. FORT. It is one I don't buy.

Senator MONDALE. But would you not say that if you have children from stable black middle-class families in Inkster that those children would be an important asset in your classes?

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STUDENT MIXTURE IMPORTANT ASSET

Dr. FORT. Well, as a matter of fact, they are now. And it is because of that reality that I have insisted upon my district's adherence to the *Hobson* versus *Hansen* decision—that there will be no tracking at the senior high school level. Instead, the youngsters who come from homes that are affluent will have a discernable level of mixture with their less economically advantaged counterparts in that Physics II classroom of the high school.

Senator MONDALE. The point being, if I understand Coleman, he did say an important element to any successful education program is the make-up of the student body in terms of the advantages they have, that the interplay between students is a very important part of education.

Dr. FORT. Undeniable.

Senator MONDALE. Also, one of the things we have done is not only segregate people by race, but segregate them by economics and social standing as well. We put the most disadvantaged poor—whites, blacks, brown, reds, name it—together, and we denied them a tax base. We don't give them money, we don't give them that interplay that ought to occur in a classroom between students. What we do is send them some more research studies to help them in any way they may be helpful.

Well, thank you very much for a most useful statement. Your whole statement will appear as though read.

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DR. EDWARD B. FORT, SUPERINTENDENT
INKSTER PUBLIC SCHOOLS
INKSTER, MICHIGAN 48141

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PREDOMINATELY BLACK SCHOOL DISTRICT

TESTIMONY BEFORE
THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Wednesday, September 29, 1971

10:00 A. M.

Room 1318

New Senate Office Building

United States Senate
209 Senate Office Bldg. Annex
Washington, D. C. 20510

TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATOR MONDALE COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY;
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PREDOMINATELY BLACK SCHOOL DISTRICT

From: Dr. Edward B. Fort, Superintendent
Inkster, Michigan Public Schools

Date: Wednesday, September 29, 1971

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF DISTRICT

The School District of Inkster, Michigan is located in the City of Inkster which lies five miles west of the City limits of Dearborn, and approximately twenty-five minutes from the Ann Arbor campus of the University of Michigan. The city was initially incorporated as a village in 1927. At that time, the village population was 4,000. The city population is currently 45,000, less than 50% of whom are Black. In 1963 the village lost a considerably large portion of its industralized tax base to the all-white city of Dearborn Heights, and subsequently was incorporated into a city, in 1964, as a means of preventing further loss of territory. The city itself, paradoxically enough, was founded by Robert Inkster, a Scotish immigrant. Mr. Inkster, coincidentally, was a close personal friend of the Late Henry Ford. During the initial stages of World War II, a considerably large number of citizens from the south were transported to the Inkster area for purposes of working on the assembly lines of the Ford Motor Company -- that gigantic industrialized complex, housed within the city limits of the municiplity of Dearborn. Mr. Ford was responsible for opening a food commissary for purposes of servicing the needs of the Inkster residents, during this time period.

It should be noted, parenthetically, that with the passage of time, following the village incorporation in 1927, this area, adjacent to the affluent City of Dearborn, began to become increasingly isolated, not only racially but also economically. Concurrently, with this phenomenon, there evolved a situation wherein five separate

public school districts materialized in the area -- each of which touched portions of the City of Inkster. That district which comprised the largest geographical portion of the City of Inkster became known as the Inkster Public School District. Despite the reality that the City of Inkster, as a municipality, contained less than 50% Black citizens, as a part of its population composition, the District itself rapidly maintained the posture of one which was completely racially isolated. As a matter of fact, that latest racial census figures, as released by the State of Michigan, indicate the reality that the School District of Inkster contains a Black population in excess of 85%. It is interesting to note, despite the claims to the contrary, that all evidence would very definitely seem to point to the conclusion that it is less than historical happenstance that there is one district in the area which is not only predominately Black, but also isolated economically. The other four surrounding school districts include Cherry Hill, 96% plus Caucasian; Wayne, 95% Caucasian; Taylor, 90% Caucasian; and Westwood, 66% Caucasian. The School District of Inkster, as will be indicated later, contains the least amount of state equalized assessed valuation behind each child of any district in the entire county of Wayne, of which there are 39. Additionally, it contains the highest incidence of Black students of any in the county, including the School District of Detroit. Additionally, it is a documented reality -- that from a historical point of view -- the District of Inkster was one of the few which, in the 1940's and 50's would hire Black professionals as teachers in the public school system. As a result of this historical circumstance, the staff has been predominately Black, with large numbers of its composition consisting of teachers with Master's Degrees -- who were trained to teach any where in Michigan -- but because of the implications of institutionalized racism, were unable to find positions in districts that were predominately Caucasian.

The socio-economic structure of the District is one wherein at least four schools contain large numbers of economically disadvantaged youngsters. This has a historical significance, particularly in view of the fact that in one such school attendance area, a large expanse of war housing was constructed which has remained in the community since that time. This expanse includes the Carver homes, and the LeMoyne Gardens. Because of such deprivation factors as these, the District has been eligible for federal funds under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 for purposes of providing exemplary services above and beyond those that could possibly be provided on a limited budget basis by the school district. As indicated earlier, the City of Inkster is essentially a bedroom community, with little industry. It has a public library of some 22,700 volumes, no theatre and no public auditorium. There is no up-to-date shopping center within the geographical limits of the city itself. Residents, therefore, are forced to travel elsewhere in the Detroit-Metropolitan area for economic and cultural facilities. The median family income within the confines of Inkster Public School District has approximated $6,000 per year, which indicates the difficulty of such travel for residents. Based upon currently existing assessment practices, the Inkster Public Schools, as will be elaborated upon later, has a state equalized assessed valuation of only $8,137 per child -- as related to a $40,688,771 total state equalized assessed valuation. As previously stated, this SEV per child is the lowest in the county.

The Inkster Public Schools, concurrently, is levying a millage rate of 32.9 mills, one of the top fifteen in the entire county. This figure includes 7 mills for debt retirement.

THE 1967-1968 FINANCIAL CRISIS

At the time that I came to the District as the new superintendent in the Spring of 1967, it became discernibly obvious, after two weeks on the job, that I had inherited an horrendous financial mess. As a matter of fact, preliminary audits clearly indicated the fact that the inherited deficit approximated $1,047,000 for the 1967-68 school year. A hurried review of the district's financial posture in the immediately preceding years quickly revealed the reality that the system had reached a point in its financial history where it could no longer continue at the status quo. Budget projections for later in the year clearly indicated the fact that there would be insufficient funds for purposes of continuing the operation of the District through June 30, 1968. As a matter of fact, conferences were held involving officials from the Intermediate School District, as well as from the administrative finance office of the Michigan Department of Public Instruction -- emphasizing the reality that the then cash projections clearly showed that the reserves would dwindle to a sum of $20,000 after the first pay period in December of 1967. In view of the fact that operating payrolls at that time consummed approximately 81% of the total budget for the 1967-68 school year, it became fairly obvious (payrolls approximated $28,000 per month) that payless pay days would, in fact, materialize as early as February of 1968. According to the then projected cash schedule of balances for the General Fund, ending June 30, 1968, it would be necessary for the District to secure a minimum of $900,000 plus in additional cash for purposes of operating the school system between November 17, 1967 and June 30, 1968.

It should be noted that in 1964 the Inkster Board of Education adopted a resolution which resulted in the successful passage of a bond issue which included a provision of $647,000 earmarked for the construction of a new secondary school building on a 15-acre site located in the northern, predominately Caucasian portion of the school district. The building to-be-constructed, would be desegregated. From the proceeds of another bond issue in 1966, $1,197,000 were earmarked for purposes of the completion of the to-be-constructed secondary school building. The addition of this latter sum of money raised the total amount to $1,844,400; contracts were let, and the school system began the construction of a new junior high school building, designed to handle the overflow of secondary students, as currently attending the Fellrath Junior High School. Following the passage of the last bond issue, and the beginning of construction on this $1,000,000 plus edifice, many things happened. Architects, construction engineers, electrical contractors, mechanical contractors and the general contractors moved with all deliberate speed toward the completion of this building so that it would be ready and available for the housing of the educational needs of an overflow of youngsters anticipated for the Spring semester of 1968. Covering an area of approximately 70,000 feet, this building had been designed to be, perhaps, one of the finest of its kind in the greater Metropolitan area, including not only classroom stations, but also mathematics, science and teaching laboratories as well as facilities for purposes of handling vocational education programs. Unfortunately, in November of 1967, the Board of Education reluctantly adopted a resolution calling for the delay of the opening of this building, because of the fiscal impossibility of securing the $250,000 needed to operate same. The resolution contained the

stipulation that the Board would charge the Superintendent with the responsibility for developing a comprehensively defined plan for securing the revenue needed to operate the building.

In the meantime, the District in 1967 applied for and received an advance of $400,000 against its 1967-68 state aid for purposes of defraying the cost of operating the Inkster Public Schools through June 30, 1967. During the height of the teacher strike, which materialized in September of the same year, the Superintendent initiated a resolution calling for the borrowing of an additional $500,000 against 1967-68 state aid, for purposes of meeting payroll costs between September and December of 1967. Once the state authorization was secured for same, the District found some difficulty with respect to obtaining a $500,000 loan from a local bank. The local bank refused to submit a lending bid, and as a result, the teachers and staff were forced to experience one payless pay day at that time. Subsequent action on the part of the Superintendent resulted in the securing of a $500,000 loan from another bank at a considerably higher rate of interest. As indicated previously, it became perfectly clear that notwithstanding these two loans, the cash on hand would not be sufficient to meet payroll requirements for the second pay day in December of 1967. Only through subsequent action of the Municipal Finance Commission was it possible for the District to borrow up to 50% of 1967 taxes for purposes of securing additional $290,000, thereby enabling it to at least meet payroll through the Spring of 1968.

The financial condition of the District reached the apex when, in March of 1968, I recommended to the Board that the projected expenditures for 1968 and 1969 be curtailed to the extent of

$500,000. The expenditures cuts would include the elimination of 44 teaching positions, one principalship, 2 secretaries and 1 curriculum coordinator, and 1 full-time director of transportation. In addition, transportation services would be completely eliminated at the secondary level.

This action, it should be noted at this juncture, had nothing to do with completion of the 1967-68 school year. It was designed to enable the system to survive beyond July 1, 1968 -- should some kind of plan be approved by the State, which would enable the system to continue through June 30, 1968. At this time, it became fairly obvious to the State that Inkster was in the midst of a financial crisis. The District faced the same kind of potential catastrophe as that which had already been experienced by the Ohio School District of Versailles. In that case, as the committee probably recalls, the school district was forced to close down from January 31 through March 15, 1967 because of the non-availability of state revenues for purposes of continuing its operation. Operations resumed, only after local taxes "came in" after March 15. In the case of Inkster, it became fairly obvious to the State that several factors were unique: (1) the District had already taxed itself to the hilt -- and certainly could not anticipate any additional property tax support from the local constituency, (2) the District was still the poorest in the county,(3) the state was not inclined to provide for a carte blanche loan to the Inkster Public Schools.

It was at this point in time that I devised a plan, as approved by the Board, to launch an all out effort toward forcing the Lansing legislature to take some kind of definitive action which would result in eliminating the bankruptcy condition which was rapidly approaching

in Inkster. A Citizens Advisory Committee on School Finance was immediately launched. During the Winter of 1967-68, a group of 300 parents and interested supporters came to Lansing, on buses, for purposes of presenting testimony before a Joint Session of the House and Senate Education Committees. The spokesman indicated, in no uncertain terms, that unless some kind of financial aid was to be forthcoming from the State -- Inkster would cease to exist as a public school district. It should be noted, parenthetically, that at the same time the then Governor of Michigan, Mr. George Romney, was in the process of campaigning for the Republican candidacy for the President, in the State of New Hampshire. Comments were made by some parents at the Lansing meeting, that if the Governor did not use his leadership for purposes of seeking relief from the state legislature -- the buses would be financed by the local constituency, for purposes of following Mr. Romney to New Hampshire for purposes of seeking an audience with him. Some of the Romney spokesman suggested, at this point, that Superintendent Fort was engaged in a Democratically contrived plot for purposes of "embrassing the Governor".

After two months of Hearings before the leadership of the House and Senate in Lansing, and as a result of very able assistance on the part of such leaders as Senator Coleman Young in Lansing, the District was able to secure a preliminary commitment from the leadership of the state house that a bill would be introduced on the floor of that body which would be designed to "bail Inkster out". This became known as House Bill 3332 and contained provisos wherein a school district would be able to secure loans for purposes of eliminating its status of insolvency -- if the auditors from

the Treasury Department of Michigan State Government -- showed, in fact, that a deficit did exist. During the time wherein the legislation was winding its way through the hallowed halls of the Lansing Congress, the Governor authorized the Auditor General of the State to send a team of auditors to the District. Their findings substantiated the previously indicated claims of the District's Administration -- that a massive deficit did, in fact, exist. The conclusion was a deficit of $902,000. It was at this juncture, that the legislation successfully passed the various hurdles in Lansing, and provided for the creation of a million dollar fund which could be drawn upon by local districts that were proven to be in a state of bankruptcy. Following the passage of this bill, and its signing into law by the Governor, a team of auditors from the Treasury Department of Michigan came into the District, and, in disagreement with the findings of the Auditor General from the same State -- concluded that the District's insolvency was to the extent of only $705,000. It should be noted, at this juncture, that when the money was authorized for submission to the Inkster Board of Education, it was with the following contingencies: (1) that the initial $400,000 of this total package would be returned to the State on the basis of 6% interst over a ten year period of time, at $70,000 per year plus an initial payment of $32,000 on the principal, (2) that the remaining $305,000 would be returned to the State, over a 10 year period, at an interest rate of 5%. Thus, we have the specter of an economically bankrupt school system being forced to pay back, over a ten year period of time, $705,000 loan to the State. Each year's state aid payments, for the next ten years, would be reduced by $705,000, plus the interest payments, until the loan had been completely taken care of.

It is noted, parenthetically, that following the action of the State, which prevented the District from collapsing in the late Spring of 1968, the public was informed of the reality that, notwithstanding the continuation of the financial crisis -- it would be impossible to operate the newly completed Milton Middle School, as previously warned. Subsequent millage elections, for purposes of securing the passage of ten mills, so as to operationalize the program -- also failed -- in January and June of 1969. Thus, the District was saddled with the specter of seeing that $2 million edifice stand idle, because of the non-availability of funds to operate same. ($250,000 per year). It would suffice to assert, at this juncture, that I had no intentions, as the Administrative Leader of this District, of allowing this kind of situation to exist for an indefinite period of time. Therefore, following negotiations with the State Department of Education in the Spring of 1970, the District received authorization to begin the implementation of a pilot program in vocational technical education, to be housed, in its entirety, at the Milton Education Center. Funds for this pilot program are 100% reimbursed, because of the Special Needs Section of the 1968 amendments to the Vocational Education Act. This included the defraying of costs for salaries. Programs operationalized in that initial pilot endeavor, for the summer of 1970, included commercial foods, paramedical services, office education, business education, and automotive mechanics. Since that time, the District has witnessed a magnificently defined expansion of this program -- to the extent that now we have a program which operates at a cost factor in excess of $200,000 -- as housed in a building which -- without the use of federal funds, would have remained vacant.

EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY - BETWEEN DISTRICTS

I am thoroughly convinced, having reviewed in some detail, the recently completed California State Supreme Court decision on John Serrano vs Priest, et.al., that "the quality of education for school aged children -- is a function of the wealth of the children's parents and neighbors as measured by the tax base of the school district in which said children reside. And ...the quality of education for school aged children becomes a function of the geographical accident of the school district in which said children reside and present schemes for financing public school districts in these States provides students living in some school districts of the State with material advantages over students in other school districts in selecting and pursuing their educational goals". The school district of Inkster, Michigan is a classic example which can be readily used for purposes of validating the same contention that was used the plantiffs in the California case. For purposes of mathematical specificity, let us briefly review the financial posture of the following districts as they compare with the School District of Inkster, in the tri-county area of Wayne, Oakland and Macomb (the three largest Michigan counties). These districts are compared on the basis of total state equalized assessed valuation (the total tax dollars available to the district in accordance with the total number of pupils that they have in the district; the state equalized assessed valuation, i.e., SEV per pupil; the expenditures per pupil per year; the total enrollment of the district; the current operating millage; and the amount of dollars raised by the levy of one mill. An examination of this chart readily depicts the disadvantages under which the Inkster Public School District is operating as it seeks to compete with other

districts in the tri-county area for a fair share of the state aid pie -- for purposes of providing a quality education program. It is fairly obvious that this competition is unfair from the outset. Inkster, as indicated earlier, has the lowest SEV per pupil (8,137); it is noted that the range in terms of SEV per pupil is from that botton figure to a top of $57,093 for the school district of River Rouge -- which sits astride the steel mills which make the Ford Empire possible in Michigan. Further analysis of the data reviews the fact that Inkster's expenditures per pupil are the second lowest in the group of districts cited; the lowest being Muskegon Heights, which, parenthetically, is the other predominately Black district in the Michigan grouping of districts cited herein. Expenditures per pupil, therefore, range from a low of $712 to a high of $1,595.19 for the school district of Dearborn, the all White school district immediately adjacent to Inkster, which sits astride the Ford Empire and all of its wealth. The most glaring discrepancies appear when one compares the results of operating millage in Inkster, on the one hand, as opposed to those that exist in the City District of Dearborn. Both districts have an operating millage of 25.9 mills. However, for Inkster, one millage of levy (i.e., $1 per thousand dollar of assessed valuation) yields only $40,689. Conversely, every mill which is levied for operation in the District of Dearborn, the return is $903,519. Speaking statistically, it thus becomes evident that one mill in Inkster raises only 4½% of the funds raised by that same millage levy in Dearborn; or another way of putting it -- Dearborn is able to secure 95½% return on 1 mill

of investment, as compared with only 4½% return for Inkster. For purposes of further comparison, the Committee's attention is focused on the City of East Lansing, Michigan, which houses the campus of Michigan State University. There, we note, that the SEV per pupil is $26,973, with the expenditures per pupil being $1,140. It is noted that the enrollment of that district approximates that of Inkster (5,000 pupils). Conversely, the similarities do not persist, as pertains to dollars yield per millage of levy. In East Lansing, one mill yields $134,867. In Inkster one mill yields $40,689.

As with the California case, "although equalization aid and supplemental aid temper the desparities which result from the tax variations and real property assessed valuation, wide differentials remain in the revenue available to individual districts and consequently in the level of educational expenditures." Supposedly, in Michigan, the equalization formula seek to lessen the gap; in reality, current Michigan state aid formula does nothing more than to perpetuate a status quo which allows for the continuation of the disequalization of educational opportunity. The less wealthy districts grow further behind, as the more affluent continue to increase their expenditures per child. What bothers me, in relationship to the latter, is that there are those who would assert -- as did the defendants in the California case -- that neither assessed valuation per pupil nor expenditure per pupil is a reliable index of the wealth of a district or of its residents. They would assert that the former figure is untrustworthy (i.e., SEV per child) because a district with a low total SEV but a miniscule number of students will have a high per pupil tax base and thus appear wealthy.

They, therefore, argue that the proper index of a district's wealth is the total assessed valuation of its property. I would assert, in agreement with the decision of the Court, in that case, that that thesis misses the point. It is a well known fact that the only meaningful measure of a district's wealth, in the present context, is not the absolute value of the property within that district -- but the ratio of its resources to the pupils in that school system. The latter figure represents how much the district can devote to educating its pupils.

These same defenders of currently existing state aid formulae would then assert that the expenditure per child does not accurately reflects a district's wealth because that expenditure is partly determined by the district's tax rate. Therefore a district with a high total assessed valuation could very well levy a low school tax and end up spending the same amount per pupil as the other district. Furthermore, from a purely statistical point of view, the poorer district is put at a disadvantage in that it is simply unable, despite herculean efforts, to raise its taxes high enough to match the educational offerings of the wealthier districts. It is some wonder then, notwithstanding the alleged merits of such programs, that the senior high in Berverley Hills has a $1 million space mock-up lab -- whereas the youngsters at the senior high school in Inkster, do not even have sufficient biology equipment to carry out meaningful expermination in a beginning class in that area of instruction. Why? Because of the fact that the affluent district, i.e., Beverley Hills, can have its cake and eat it to; it can provide a high quality level of education for its children while paying low taxes. Conversely, Inkster, at the

lower end of the continuum, has to tax its constituency to the hilt, and still get less for its dollar. As so accurately suggested by Dr. Ira Polley, former Michigan Superintendent of Public Instruction, in September of 1968 -- "the present system of financing public elementary and secondary education must be restructured. The present system is not serving the best interest of the 2,200,000 young boys and girls in Michigan. It has at least five principal shortcomings ...including: (1) the system is inadequate, (2) it is unfair and produces inequalities, (3) it is illogical and irrational, (4) it is unrealistic, and (5) it fogs responsibility and authority". In elaborating on this thesis Dr. Polley asserts that it is inadequate because, in accordance with statistical data available in 1967-68 school year, whereas Michigan per pupil expenditures were estimated at an average of $628, the figures for New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and California, respectively, were $982, $807, $715 and $685. The system is unfair and unequal because under the present arrangement, if one district has a state equalized assessed valuation of $5,000 and another district has a valuation of $30,000 per pupil, then clearly the poorer system has to levy taxes 6 times that of the wealthy, if it expects to raise from local taxes amount comparable to those raised in the rich districts. The system, according to Polley, is illogical and irrational because it is understood that the local district must seek approval from the voters to levy any millage beyond the allocated amount. The interested voter, therefore, has the right to vote no; and he frequently does. As a matter of fact, during the first half of the 1968 school year, approximately 1/3 of the operational millage proposals were turned down. In Inkster, as indicated earlier, in 1969 two back-to-back ten mill tax levies

were overwhelmingly defeated for passage by the community. The net result -- a $2 million junior high school building stood idle for one year. The system, continues Polley, is unrealistic because of its heavy dependence upon property taxes. The property tax cannot be expected to continue to be one of the principle revenue foundations for elementary and secondary education. It simply does not have the capacity to expand. Furthermore, it is a poor measure of ability to pay. Additionally, many beneficiaries of important public services are not property owners -- at least in the immediate jurisdiction. Finally, asserts Polley, the present system of funding public schools in Michigan causes confusion of responsibility and authority. The Michigan Constitution and the courts, make it perfectly clear that the State has the responsibility as well as the authority to provide for the financing of public education. As a matter of fact, there is no doubt but that the local school district is nothing more than a quasi municipal authority, established by the State, for purposes of carrying on education at the local level. With this delegated authority, districts have been granted the power to levy property taxes, subject to a variety of limitations and conditions by a number of varying procedures. As long as education, historically, was a minor activity, and not a major growth enterprise, things were fairly good. Concurrently, as long as a relative balance between local resources and numbers of children existed; so long as voters were willing to approve millage increases -- so long as these conditions existed -- no great crisis developed.

But the conditions favorable for joint state local financial partnership are now disappearing, if not having disappeared already. However, the children remain, and their educational needs are increasing.

This is why I would assert, as implied earlier, that the present system does nothing more than to perpetuate the marked differences in quality of educational services, equipment, and other facilities which exist among the public school districts of the State as a result of the inequitable apportionment of state resources in the past years. While one school district has a high school that contains only sufficient amounts of laboratory equipment to satisfy the minimal needs at the secondary school level, a neighboring school district has junior high school science labs that are better equipped than some laboratory facilities at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. What kind of equality of educational opportunity is that?

There are those who have asserted that the solution to the problem of a predominately Black district, which is economically disadvantaged -- such as Inkster -- is school district consolidation. Unfortunately, this is an over simplification of the fact, at best, and an erroneous assumption, at worse. It is an erroneous assumption, because even though the surrounding districts which are immediately contiguous to the School District of Inkster are more affluent than as Inkster -- they are still not classified as wealthy districts. The school districts to which I refer are Cherry Hill, Wayne, Westwood, and Taylor. Their state equalized assessed valuations per child are, respectively, 9358, 11,730, 13,650, and 9,609. There are therefore two basic reasons why the consolidation of all of these separate school districts in the one would not be a satisfactory

solution to the problem ... (1) this would result in the mere organizational gymnastics of merging the poor with the poor, and creating a larger school system with a non-affluent tax base, (2) the racial question would inevitably raise its ugly head. All of these surrounding districts, with the exception of Westwood, which is 1/3 Black -- are overwhelmingly Caucasian (that is 90% plus or more). There are others who have asserted that perhaps the solution, therefore, would be the consolidation of all five of these districts with the contiguous and wealthy district of Dearborn, which has 39,819 dollars SEV per child, and spends $1595.19 per pupil for the current school year. This, of course, is not going to happen, in the absence of "fighting the Civil War again all over". The posture of Dearborn, from a racial point of view, is a nationally known reality. Therefore, to expose the youngsters in the school system of Inkster to that kind of diatribe -- would be suicidal at best.

And yet, something must be done. Statistical data consistently substantiates the contention that a disproportionately large number of poor districts contain massive numbers of minority students and/or economically disadvantaged students -- including Appalachian White. As indicated in the research by Harvard University sociologist Dr. Seymore Martin Lippsett -- "the data consistently shows that the alienated are largely recruited from people of lower socio-economic status, whether index by interview rating, occupation, and/or educational attainment."

Obviously, therefore, financial matters which will entail the outlay of expenditures which, of necessity, must be available for use in distressed districts, become mandatory. As indicated by one authority

"after viewing the educational system as a whole, as pertains to the Metropolitan Detroit area, it is not difficult for one to be pretty firmly convinced that many of the rationalizations were served to justify the continued lower achievement in Black and lower socio-economic students are really sophisticated alibis which no longer have any accredibility. We have seen how segregation and inferior education have actually reinforced each other in a cycle of systematic neglect of Black children. We know that powerlessness of the Black community and the indifference of the political oriented power structure have already (if not deliberately) combined to keep that cycle intact by inferior education being systematically imposed in such a way as to compel poor performance ...and much of this poor performance is directly related to expenditures per pupil in such districts. This condition has been eloquently articulated by nationally known psychologist Dr. Kenneth Clarke in his treatise on Dark Ghetto. Clarke asserts the following: "The symptoms of lower class society afflict the Dark Ghettos of America -- low aspiration, poor education, family instability, illegitimacy, unemployment, crime, drug addiction, and alcoholism, frequent illness and early death ...because Blacks begin with the primary affliction of inferior racial status, the burdens of dispair and hatred is more pervasive. Even initiative usually goes unrewarded as relatively few Blacks succeed in moving beyond menial jobs, and those that do find racial discrimination everywhere they go... the most concrete fact of the ghetto is its physical uglyness -- the dirt, the filth, the neglect. In many schools walls are unpainted, windows are unwashed, service is poor, supplies are

meager. The parks are seedy with lack of care. The streets are crowded with people and the refuse. In all Harlem (for example), there is no museum no art gallary, no art school, no substained little theater groups; despite the sterotype of the Black as artist, there are only five libraries -- but hundreds of bars, hundreds of churches and scores of fortune tellers; and few competently operated public schools. The only consistent characteristic is the sense of inadequacy."

It is my contention that the key phrase in this entire statement by Clarke is the one related to inefficiently operated schools. Until such time as this country begins to rearrange its priorities such that the political and militaristic inclinations in Viet Nam are placed on the back burner, and, instead, we get on with the business of devoting billions of national dollars to the education of the next generation -- we are merely whistling dixie in the pine trees.

In 1967 the Michigan Legislature commissioned the nationally known finance consultant from the University of Chicago Research Center, Dr. J. Allen Thomas, to conduct a finance study in Michigan, for purposes of determining the extent to which there was equality of educational opportunity in this State. The Thomas findings were staggering. They indicated, in effect, that no such equality existed. Thomas, concluded, for example ...that "the most favorable educational opportunities are available to students who live in Districts of (a) high per pupil state equalized assessed valuation, (b) high expenditures per pupil for education, (c) large size as measured by an enrollment of 5,000 or over, (d) high social class in terms of levels of income, quality of residence, and a preponderance of higher status occupations. Although these variables are obviously inter-related, they do not operate in identical ways; each is related to a particular set of program variables.

Four sets of variables were selected by the researchers as indicative of educational opportunity. These include: (1) educational programs in class size, (2) qualifications and allocations of teachers, (3) appropriateness and adequacy of space and, (4) instructional equipment, materials, and related practices (the technology of education)". Thomas then went on to assert as a means of elaborating on these conclusions, that districts, for example, that are spending a larger sum per pupil at the elementary school level, tend to have more classes for gifted children. They are more inclined to offer such programs as the new math in elementary schools. They have more special teachers, such as librarians, vocal teachers, and art teachers who are available in districts with higher expenditures. It is noted, parenthetically, at this juncture -- that it was necessary for Inkster to eliminate the positions of music and library and art at the elementary school level in March of 1968, as a means of curtailing expenditures by $500,000; thereby staving off the apparent inevitability of bankruptcy.

Thomas also asserts, at the junior high school level, high expenditures per pupil are associated with the provision of classes for gifted children, the inclusion of new curricular, such as modern math, and also the provision of opportunities for under achieving students. At the high school level, he concluded that greater provision is made for educational research, and for the hiring at the central office level of personnel responsible for testing and evaluation. Additionally, Thomas found that the social class of the residents of the attendance area of the district was closely related to certain types of innovated practices. The explanation for this phenonemon is probably that well educated parents are aware of newer developments, and request them for their own district, and accompany this request with a willingness and ability to pay for it. For example, the

quality of housing and the income of residents in an attendance area were associated with the offering of classes for talented children, and the provision of newer programs in mathematics, biological sciences, and the physical sciences. Additionally, high social class communities tended to have such innovations as language laboratories in their junior and senior high schools, as well as the electrical provisions for closed circuit television and individualized student study carrels. Conversely, urban schools with large proportions of Black students enrolled showed lesser tendencies towards these kinds of program offerings and/or equipment facilities.

As far as Inkster is concerned, there can be no doubt but that the Thomas assertions are valid. There are no language laboratories at Inkster High School. There is no librarian at the Middle School in the district, because that position was eliminated for financial reasons two years ago. Advanced chemistry is not taught as a science subject at the high school. Closed circuit television at the elementary level is non-existant.

We have operated a viable and innovative technical education program at the Milton Educational Center, including components in the areas of commercial foods, para-medical services, office education, distributive education, and automotive mechanics. This year the program will be expanded, to include cosmetology and refrigeration/air conditioning. This program is completely funded by the Vocational Education Act amendments of 1968. Additionally, under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965, it was possible for us, in 1967, to begin a $600,000 three-year program involving decentralization of all kindergarten education on one campus. This campus became an engorged educational arena, which housed not only 500 kindergarten aged students, but also ten teachers, and an interdisciplinary team of specialists,

including a learning and materials specialist, a project director, a full-time psychologist, an oral communication skills specialist. Again, this was possible through the availability of federal funds. It is noted, coincidentally, that one of the by-products of this innovative program was racial desegregation, in view of the fact that all kindergarten aged children, regardless of place of residence in the district, came to the Lincoln Center for kindergarten education. Thru the availability of specially earmarked funds from the state legislature, the district was able to operationalize Project SEED -- a training program designed to familiarize fourth, fifth and sixth grade students with the intricacies of advanced high school level algebra. Performance of our youngsters proved to be exemplary in this Project. With the use of funds available to the system from the National Defense for Education Act, we were able, for two consecutive summers, to send a total of approximately 50 students to the campus of Michigan State University, for purposes of participating in six weeks of advanced seminars in mathematics and science. These were gifted Black students selected from the student bodies of the senior high school and the middle school. Again, the program was possible because of availability of federal funds. Additionally, the District, through the use of $12,000 of funds from the City of Inkster, was able to implement a pilot program on Narcotics Education. Sex Education, on a systemwide basis, became a curricular reality because of the availability of $25,000 in funding from the Education Professionist Development Act -- a Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Again, local funds were not involved. More programs of this nature could be mentioned, but the specific point which must be emphasized, at this juncture, is that such innovations became operational because of the availability of funds <u>outside of the general fund budget</u>, which currently consists of about $3.5 million.

I am inclined to agree with the conclusions and recommendations of the Thomas Study, that perhaps the most effective means of equalizing educational opportunity in Michigan "would be through the transferring of the responsibilities for collecting the allocated millage portion of the property tax for education from localities to state government. This might, for example, result in a statewide property tax rate of 12 mills for education, with a corresponding decrease in local property tax rates. These funds, together with additional state revenue, would be used to finance a basic educational program for public students throughout the state. ...If this program is not feasible, a second alternative would be to transfer the property tax on industrial property from local to state responsibility. This property would then be freed from the local property tax and placed on state tax rolls. Michigan would then add to the basic state support a per student amount equivalent to the yield of this tax. If, on the other hand, these alternatives were not pursued, as a means of intensifying the possibility of reducing inequities in the educational opportunity field for Michigan students, then several other additional alternatives were proposed, by Dr. Thomas, including these ...

"Alternative #1

According to this alternative, the State would share in the cost of a locally determined educational program. The sharing ratio would very from district to district, in terms of the relationship between the tax paying ability of a given district and the average tax paying ability of all districts in the state."

"Alternative #2

The State would then guarantee to each school district in the state a share of the proceeds from a locally determined tax rate on a state guaranteed per pupil tax base. For example, the state might guarantee to the local districts, the proceeds of the local millage, levied against a tax base of $30,000 state equalized assessed valuation for each student. The state would provide to the district the difference between the millage levied against the guaranteed amount and the same millage levied against the local state equalized assessed valuation per child".

I am somewhat appalled, and have grown increasingly inpatient, with the attitude of some in the public field who would assert that the present system should not change. These persons, of course, reside astride pedestals of affluence. For example, the local press recently quoted the Mayor the City of Beverley Hills, California as saying that if the California Supreme Court decision "holds up", the most likely result would be a shifting in the taxing power from the city, to the county, or state. This would result in a corresponding drop in local property taxes and would, according to the Mayor, "drag down the top schools without improving the bottom". This is sheer nonsense and speculative at best. It would be difficult to convince me that the so-called lighthouse District would suddenly be dragged down to the botton of the pile merely by virtue of the fact that the state implemented a school financing plan which resulted in an equalization of the sharing of the money which would be used for purposes of supporting all schools in that state.

The time has, therefore, come wherein the State Government and the Federal Government must increase their share of the load with respect to the education of children in the public schools. For if, in fact, this does not become a reality, and if formulae are

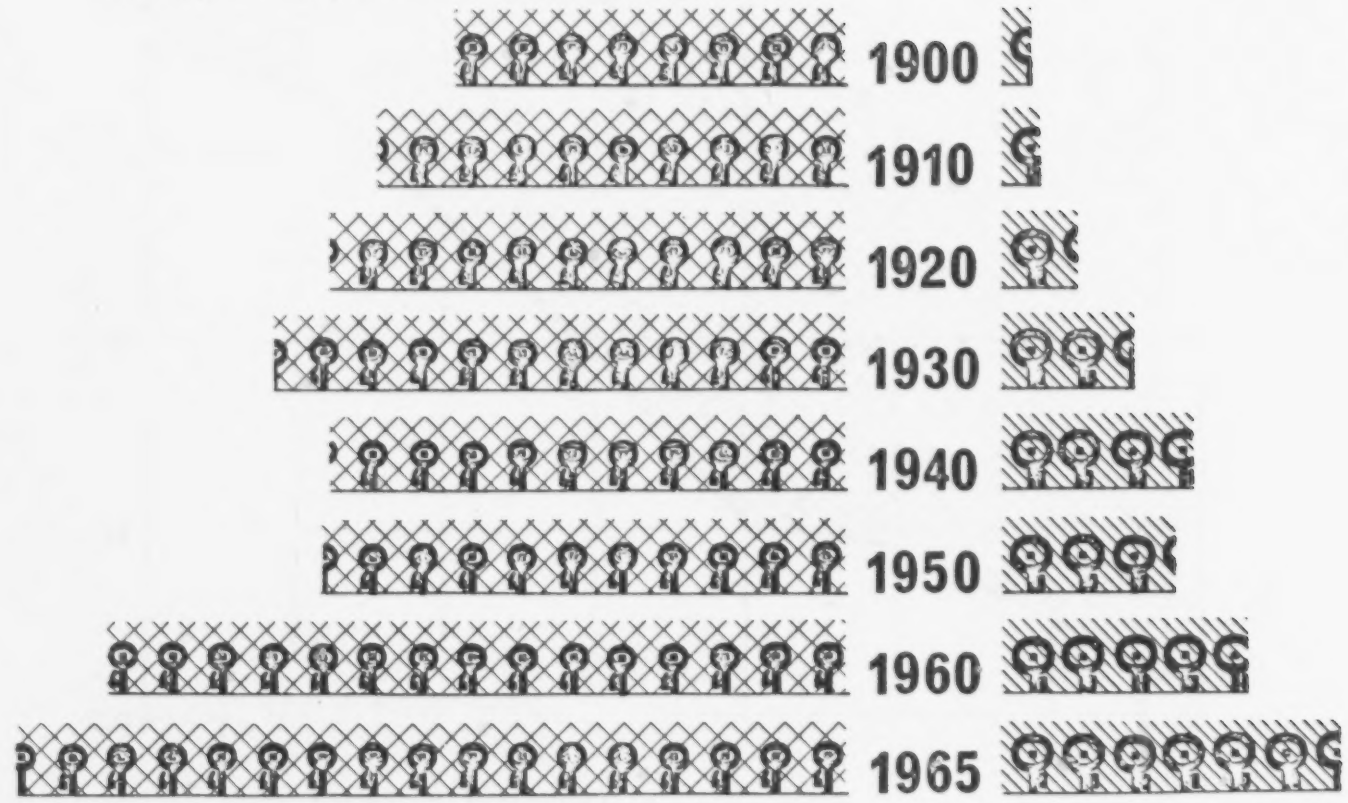
not developed which will eliminate these kinds of inequity that is exemplified by the Inkster School District, then to an increasing degree we shall produce the kinds of alienated students who become the thorn in society's neck ten, fifteeen or twenty years hence. There is no possible way that the Establishment can rationalize the continuation of a system which (1) allows for a district, such as Inkster, to continue existing with teachers with teaching salaries $2,000 less than the county norm, (2) renovated buildings badly in need of repair, (3) totally inadequate fiscal support, on the basis of funds available to the District through State devised so-called equalization formulae, (4) total racial isolation which is perpetuated by the demographic housing patterns as currently existing in Wayne County Michigan, (5) a system constantly bombarded by the institutionalized racism which surrounds it on all sides. For if, in fact, this kind of reality is allowed to become the continuing status quo -- than I would predict that there will be more Atticas.

School District	Total SEV	SEV per Pupil	Expenditures Per Pupil	Total Enrollment	Operating Millage	Amount Raised by 1 Mill
River Rouge	222,365,629	60,235.55	1,284.93	3,675	20.90	222,366
Grosse Pointe	436,392,046	29,624.00	1,108.58	13,347	28.60	436,392
Dearborn	903,519,357	39,819.00	1,595.19	20,610	25.90	903,519
Warren Consolidated	660,637,000	19,355.00	855.00	34,132	26.58	660,637
Oak Park	204,097,021	36,834.00	1,248.83	5,853	31.63	204,094
Muskegon Heights	51,365,150	12,527.00	712.00	4,100	27.80	51,365
East Lansing	134,867,086	26,973.00	1,140.00	5,000	34.50	134,867
Okemos	64,994,380	19,587.00	994.00	3,400	35.70	64,994
Cherry Hill	49,293,800	9,358.00	644.46	4,869	24.90	49,294
Wayne	308,356,693	11,730.00	892.02	23,604	37.90	308,357
Westwood	78,149,782	13,650.00	806.76	5,121	34.95	78,150
Taylor	245,220,784	9,609.00	769.00	20,093	30.90 (a) 31.90 (b)	245,221
Inkster	40,688,771	8,137.00	715.82	4,387	25.90	40,689

(a) Brownstown portion
(b) Entire portion of Taylor, plus portions of Dearborn Heights, Westland and Inkster

U.S.A. Enrollments by Grade 1900-1965

Each Symbol Represents 2 Million Students



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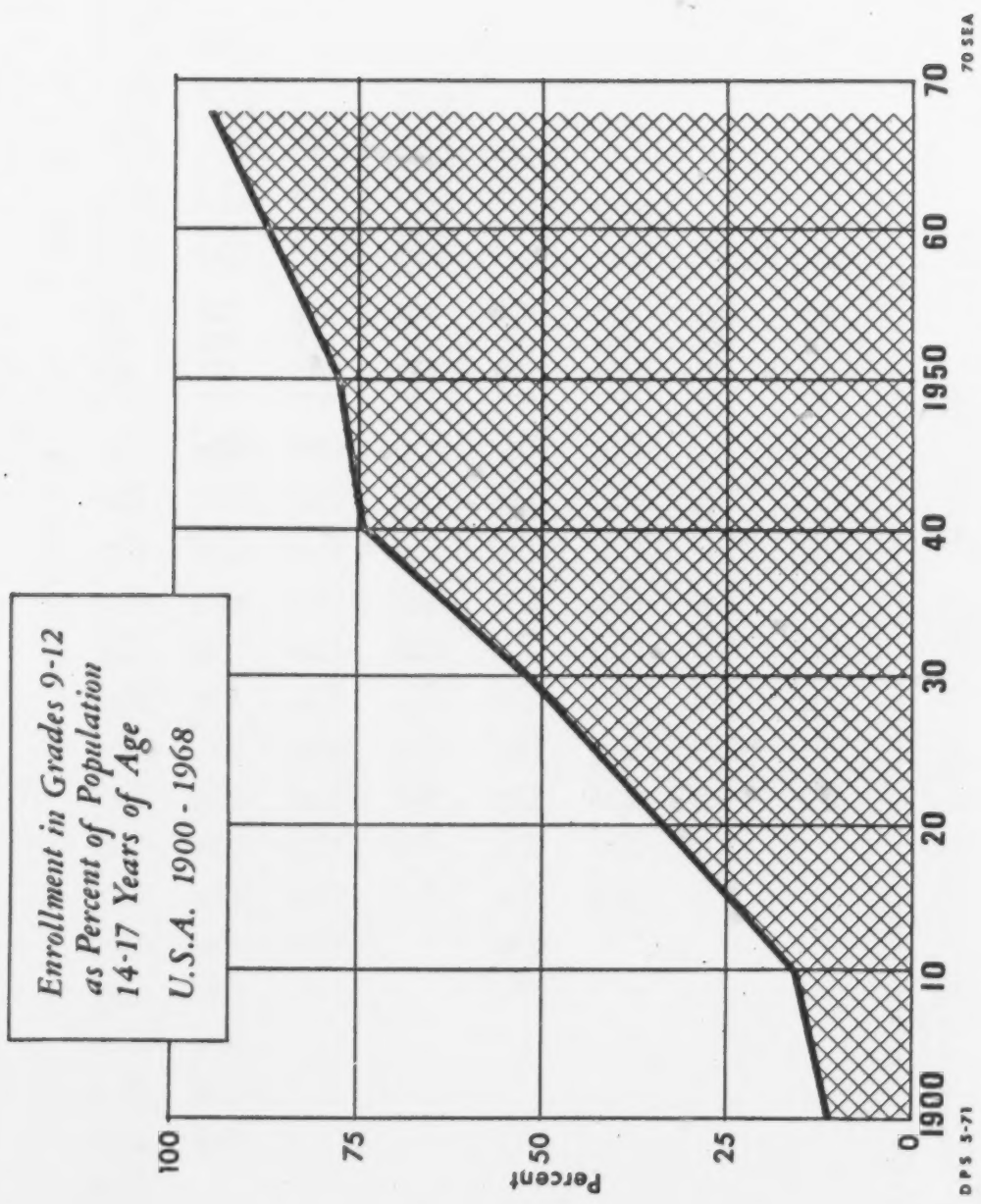
70 SEA

9657


Enrollment in Grades 9-12
as Percent of Population
14-17 Years of Age
U.S.A. 1900 - 1968
Percent
100
75
50
25
0
1900
10
20
30
40
1950
60
70
70 SEA
DPS 5-71

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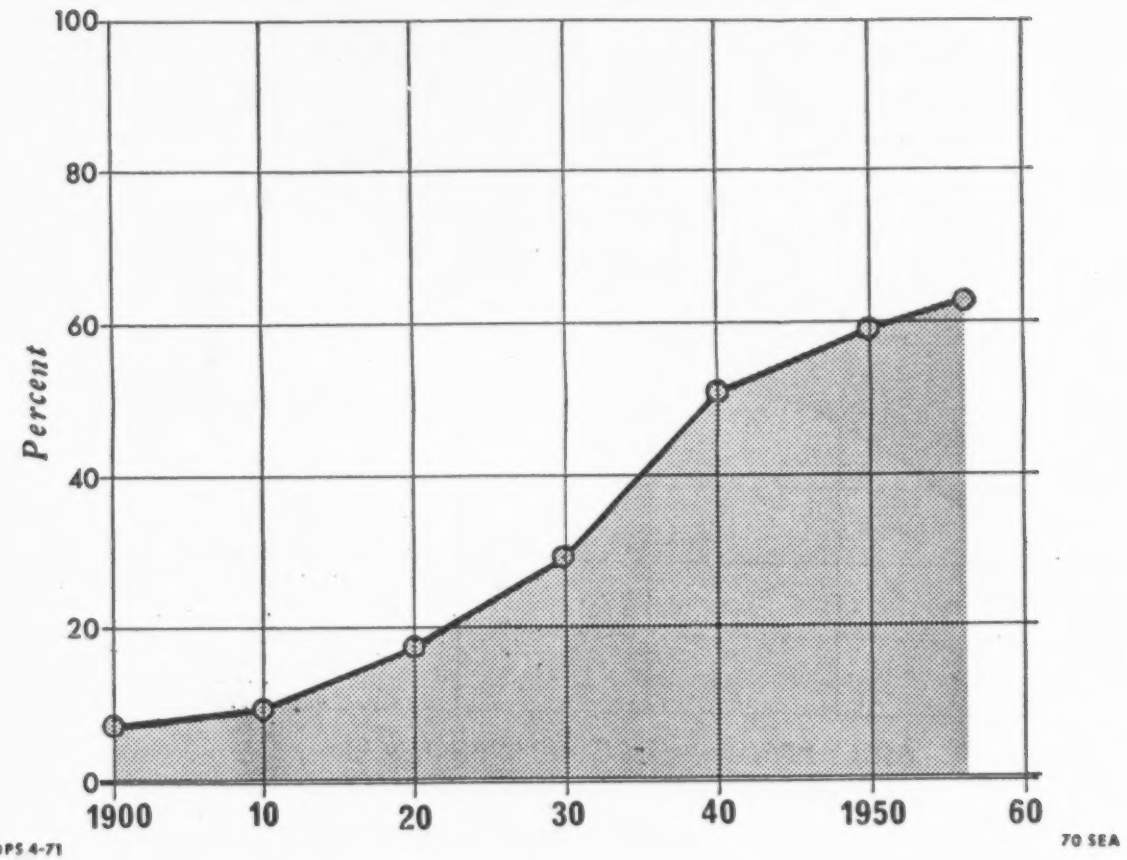
43

US High School Graduates 1900-1956

Percent of Seventeen Years Old Population



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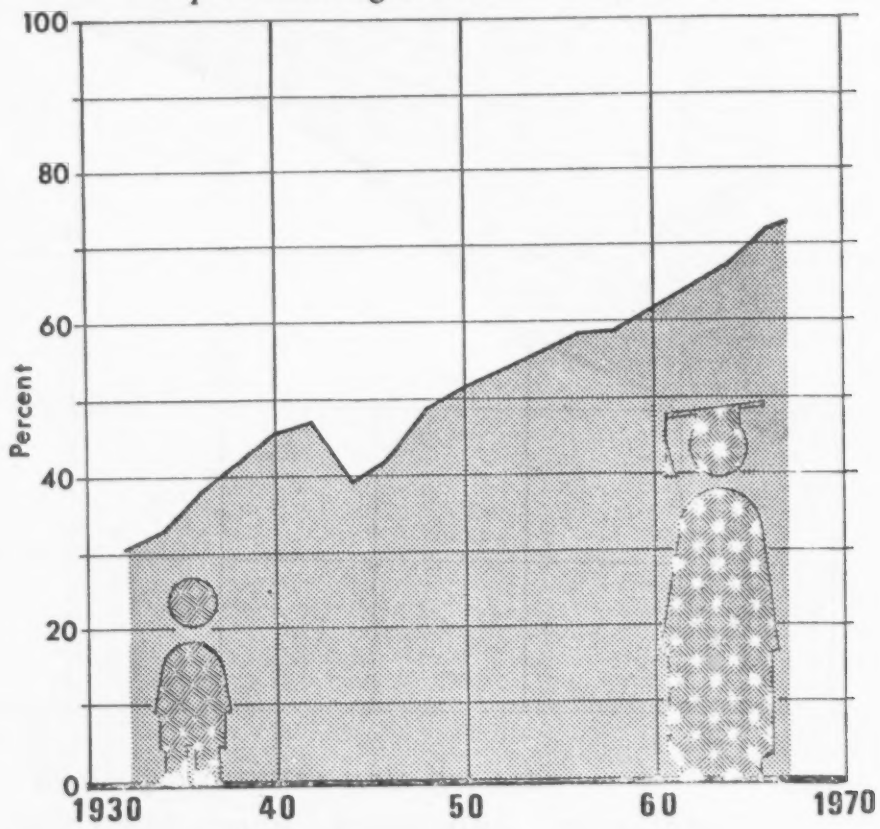
70 SEA

9659

U.S. RETENTION RATES

Percent High School Graduates 1932 - 1967
Pupils Entering 5th Grade 1924 - 1959



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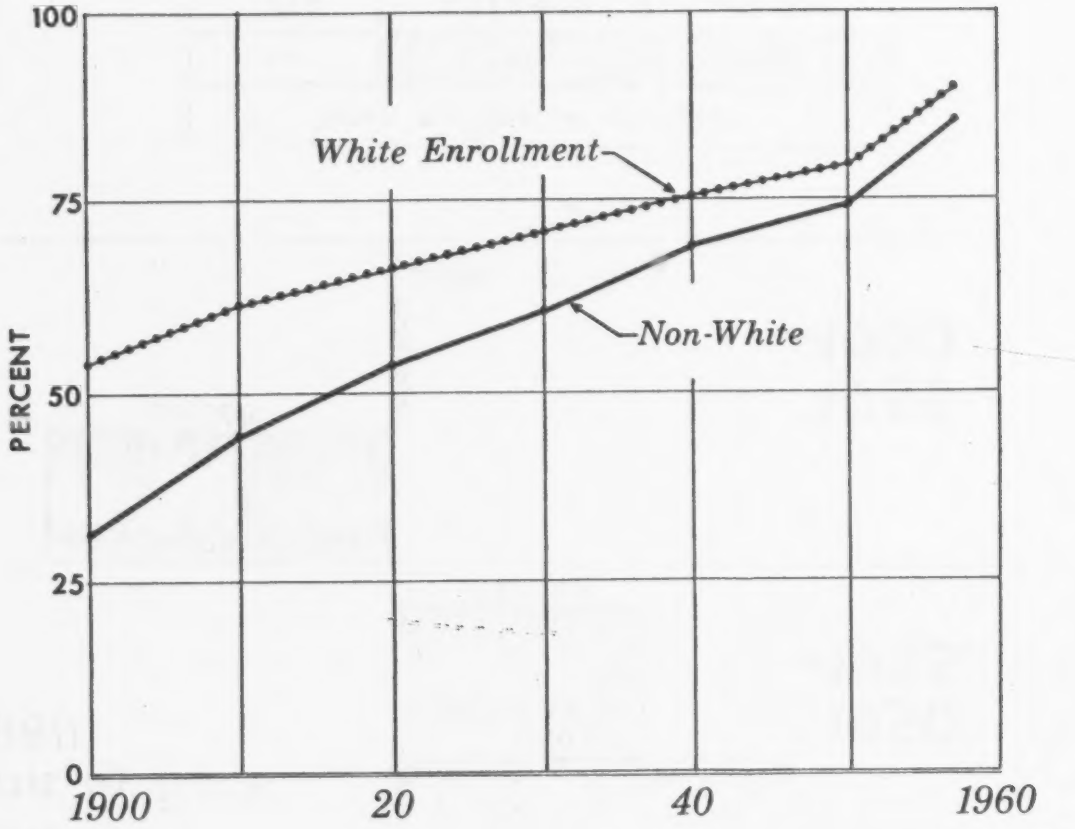
70 SEA

0996

U.S. School Enrollment Rates by Color 1900-57
Ages 5-19

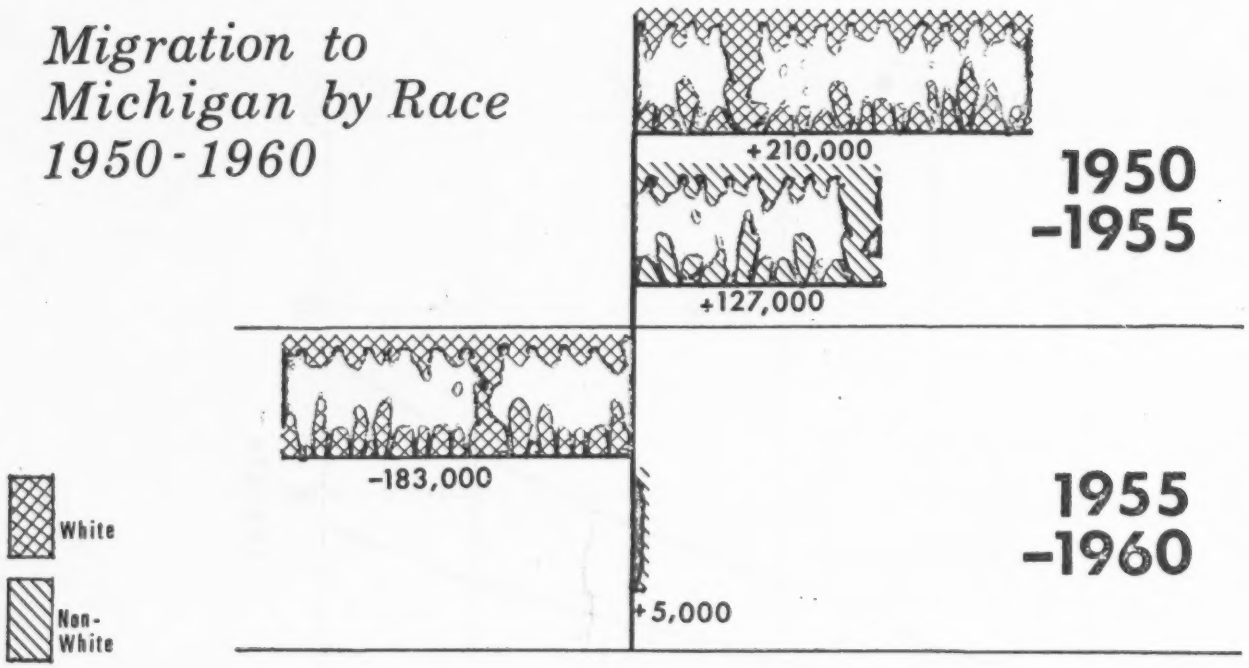


EPS 5-71

70 SEA

1996

Migration to Michigan by Race 1950-1960



Total Population - Michigan		
Year	White	Non-White
1950	5,918,000	451,000
1960	7,086,000	736,000

D.P.S. 4-71

M.S.A.70

9662

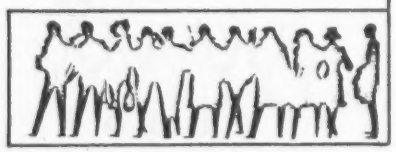
Migration
to Detroit
1940 - 1960

1940-50

+258,000

1950-55 +252,000

1950-60



−150,000 1955-60

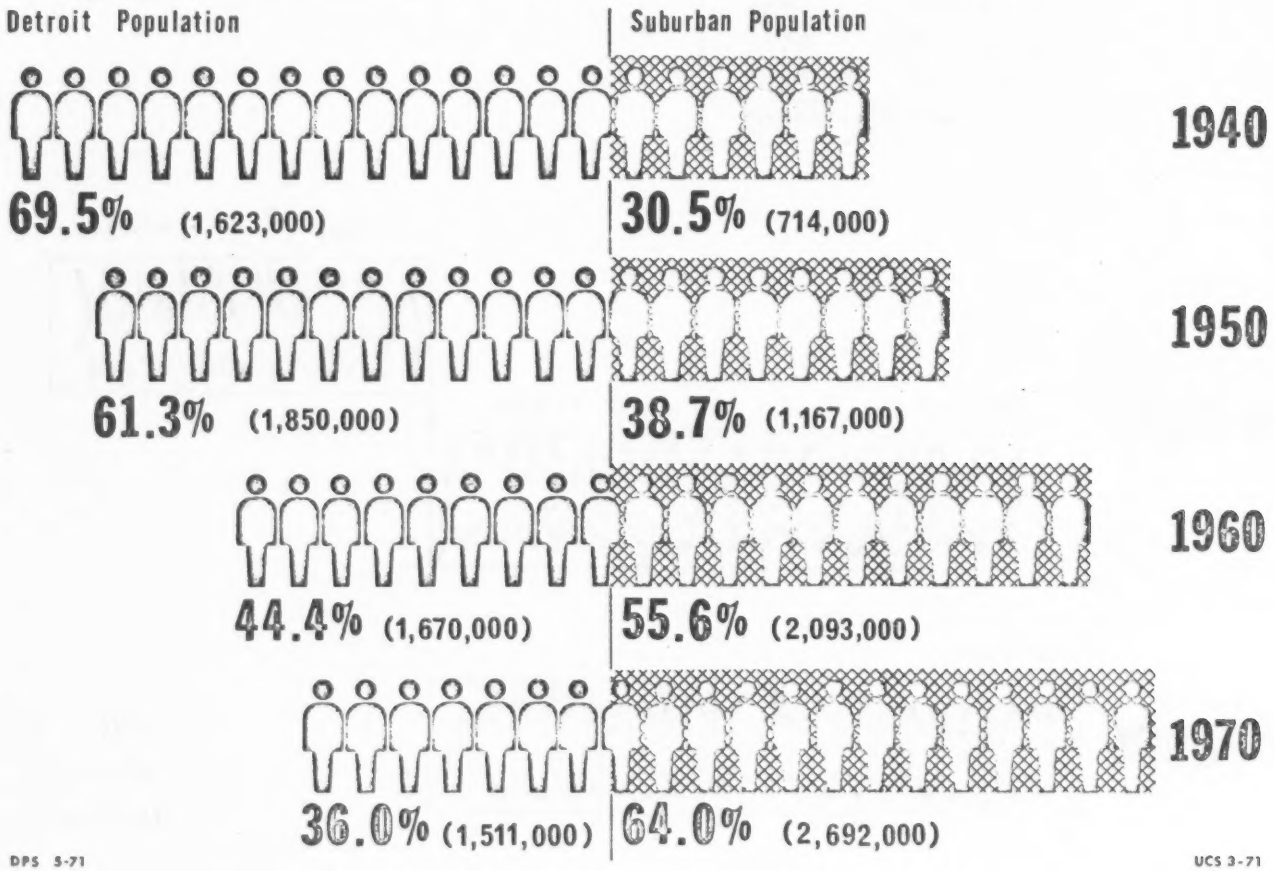
Detroit Census Count	
1940	1,623,000
1950	1,850,000
1960	1,670,000

DPS 5-71

DAMich

53
9663

Population of Detroit Metropolitan Area



9664

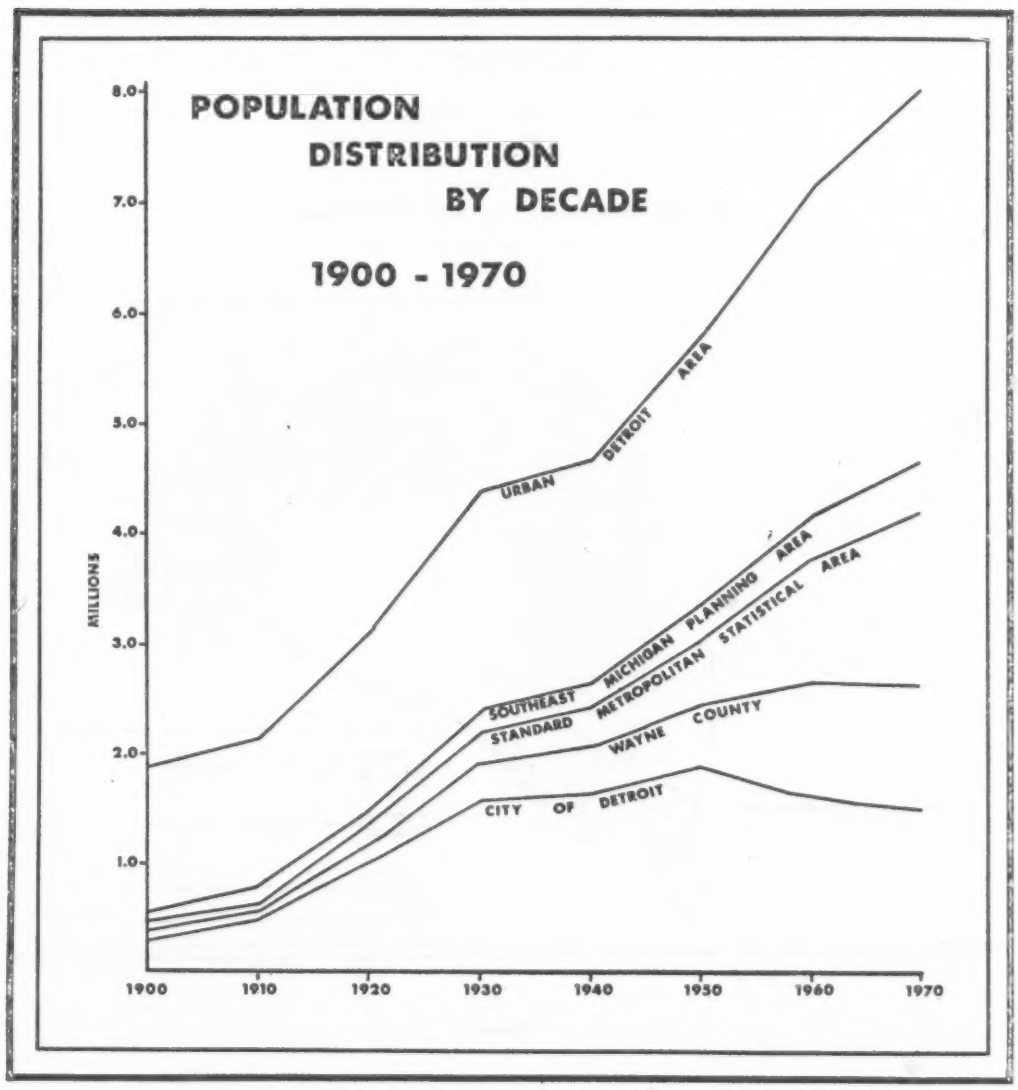

POPULATION
DISTRIBUTION
BY DECADE
1900 - 1970
MILLIONS
8.0
7.0
6.0
5.0
4.0
3.0
2.0
1.0
URBAN DETROIT AREA
SOUTHEAST MICHIGAN PLANNING AREA
STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA
WAYNE COUNTY
CITY OF DETROIT
1900
1910
1920
1930
1940
1950
1960
1970

Figure 4

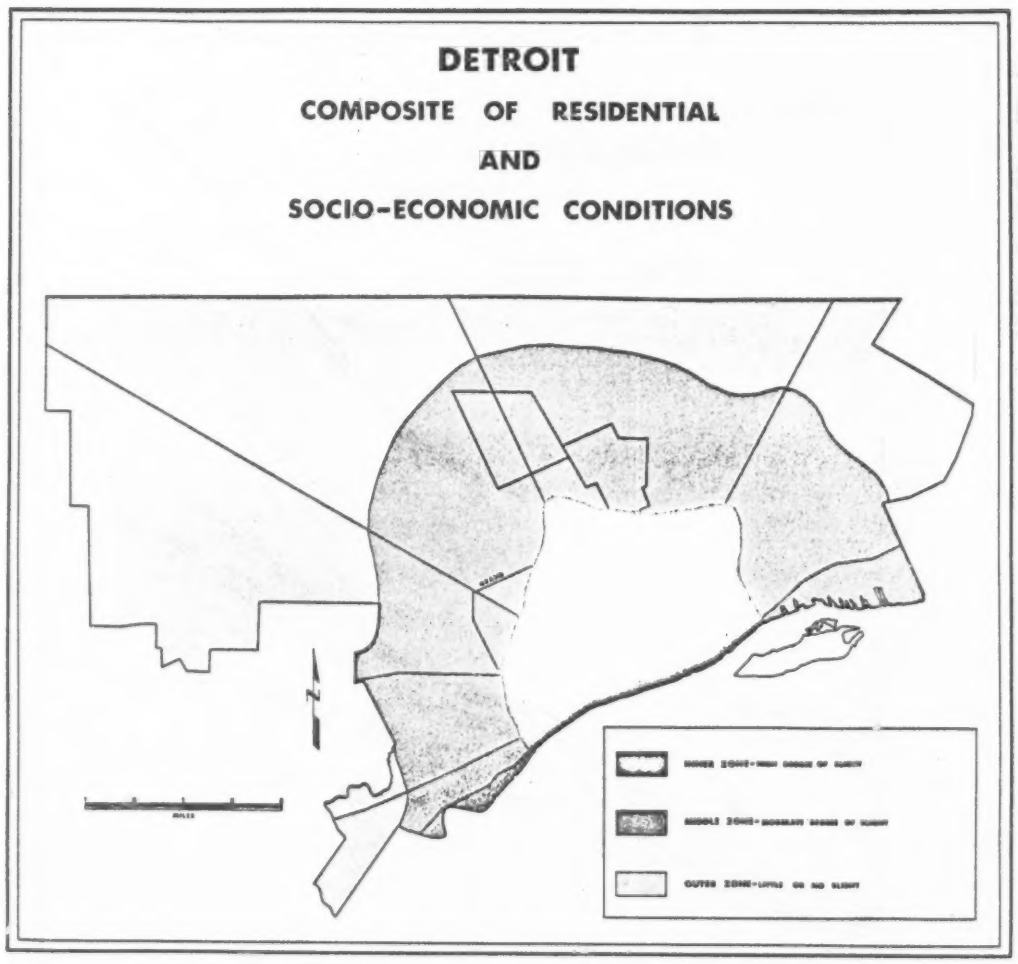

DETROIT
COMPOSITE OF RESIDENTIAL
AND
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Figure 11

DETROIT
NON-WHITE POPULATION
1969
LEGEND
PER CENT NON-WHITE
0-4.9
5.0-24.9
25.0-49.9
50.0-84.9
85.0-100
SCALE
MILES
N

Figure 12

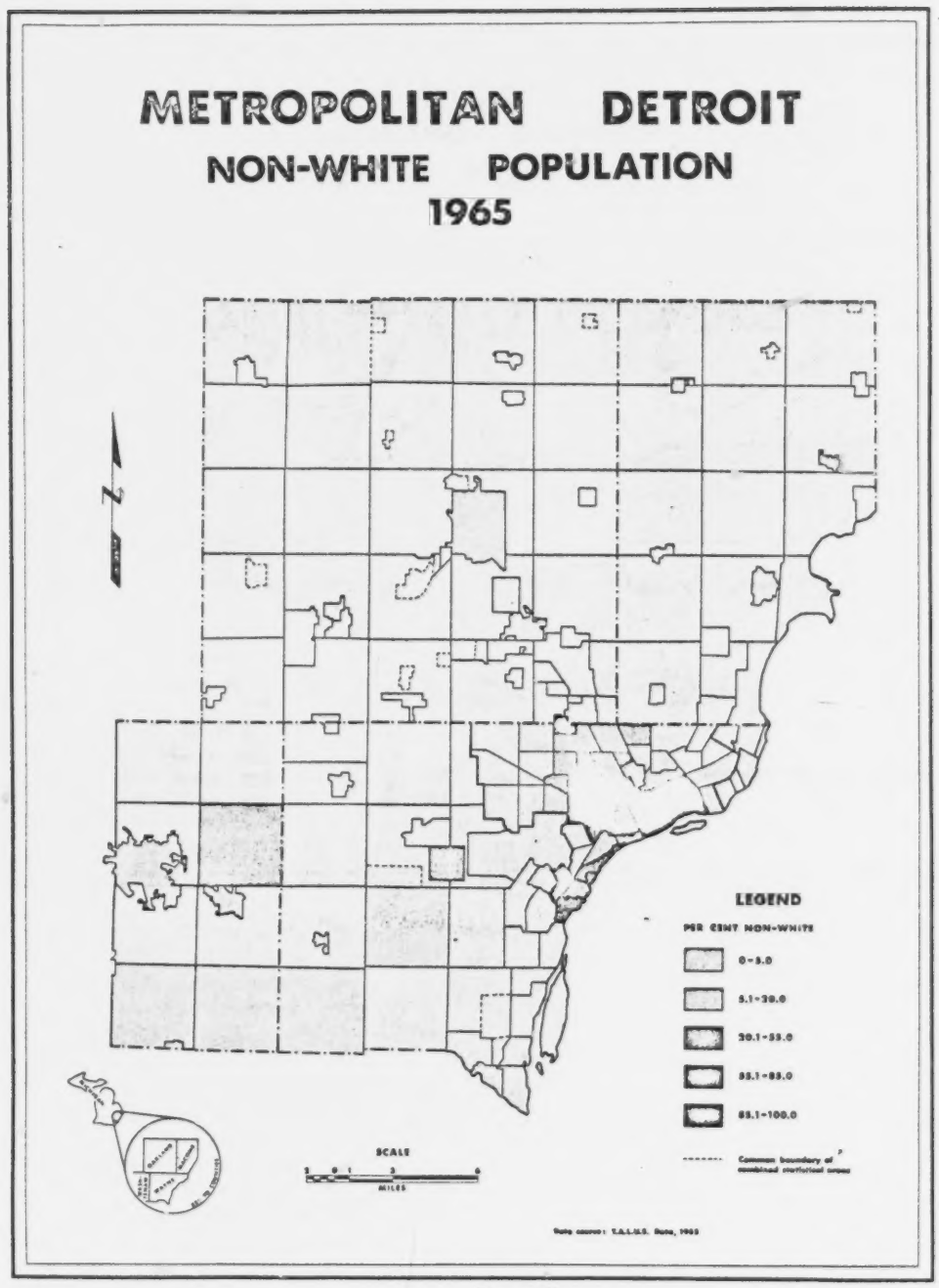

METROPOLITAN DETROIT
NON-WHITE POPULATION
1965
N
LEGEND
PER CENT NON-WHITE
0-5.0
5.1-30.0
30.1-55.0
55.1-85.0
85.1-100.0
Common boundary of combined statistical areas
SCALE
MILES

Figure 19

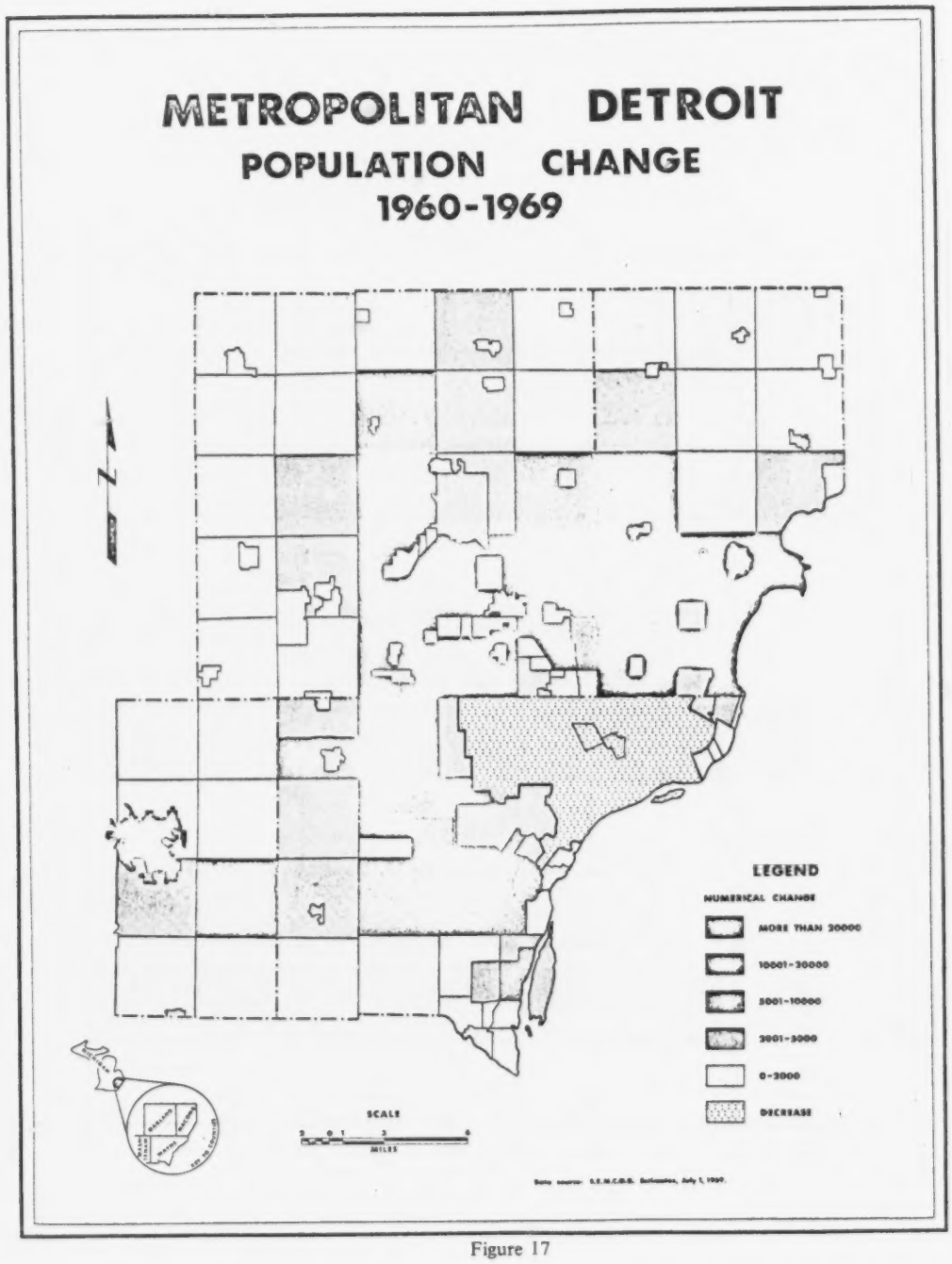
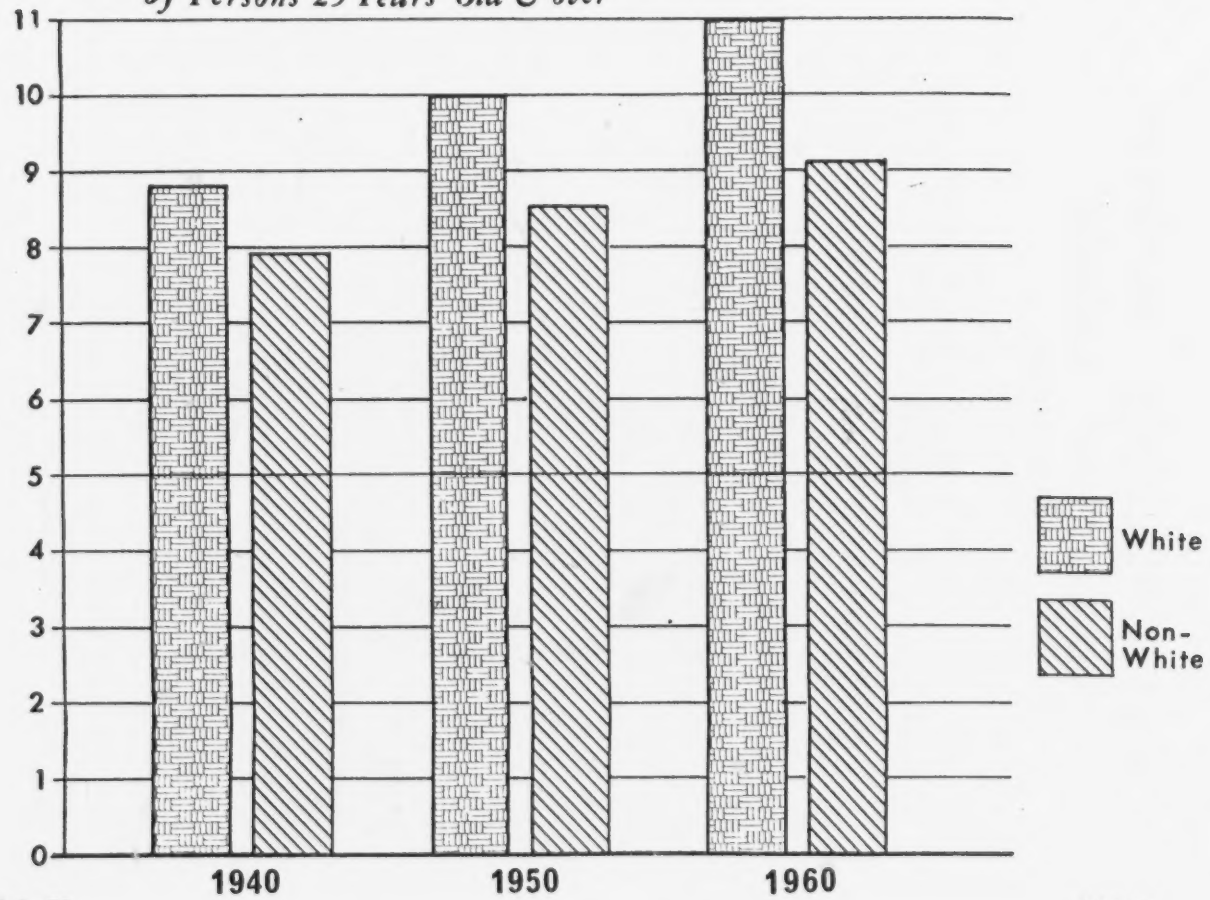

METROPOLITAN DETROIT
POPULATION CHANGE
1960-1969
LEGEND
NUMERICAL CHANGE
MORE THAN 20000
10001-20000
5001-10000
3001-5000
0-3000
DECREASE
SCALE
MILES

Figure 17

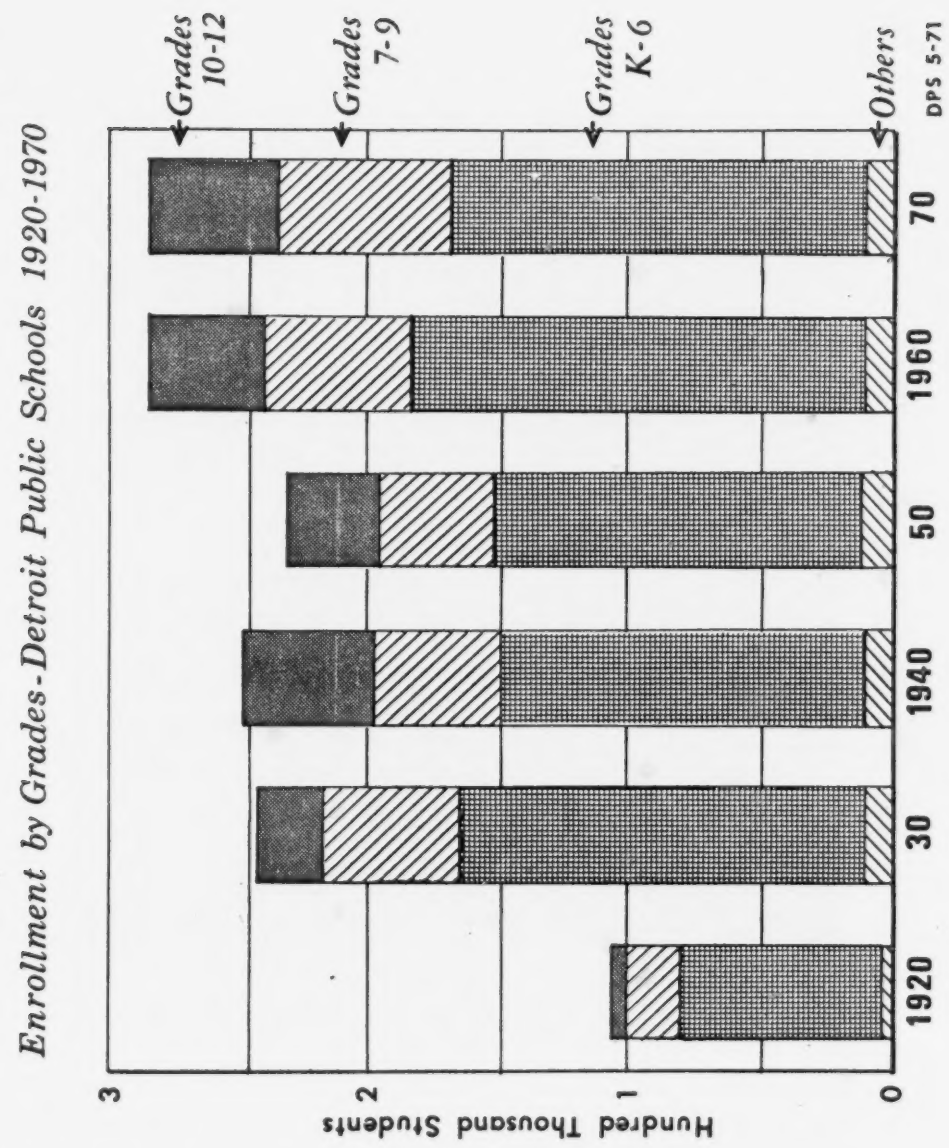
Median School Years Completed in Michigan 1940-1960
by Persons 25 Years Old & over



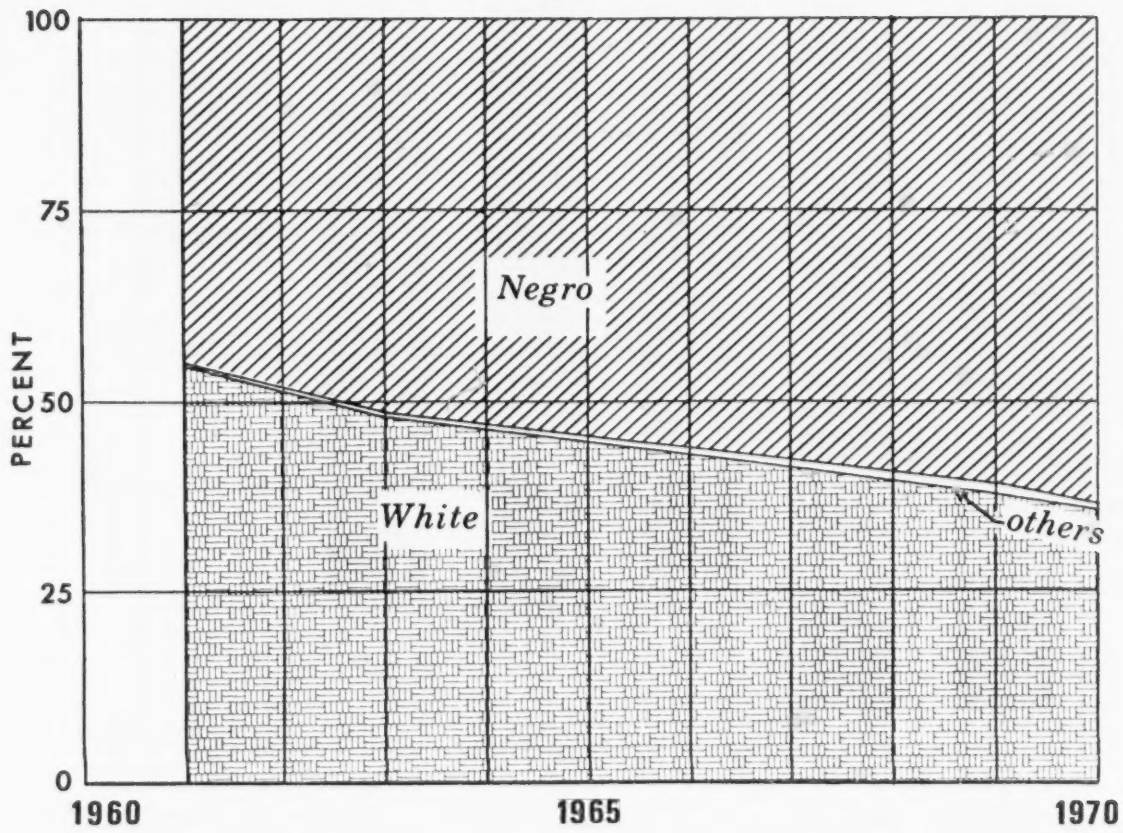
DPS 4-71

MSA 70

9670


Enrollment by Grades-Detroit Public Schools 1920-1970
Grades 10-12
Grades 7-9
Grades K-6
Others
DPS 5-71
1920
30
1940
50
1960
70
0
1
2
3
Hundred Thousand Students

Racial Percentages
Detroit Public Schools Enrollment
1961-1970



DPS 5-71

9672

CITY-WIDE MEANS
IOWA TESTS OF BASIC SKILLS

GRADE 4B

Skill Tested	Means in Grade Equivalent Units--National Mean 4.1													
	1957[a]	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Reading	4.0	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.6	3.3	3.5	3.4	3.2	3.1	3.2	3.2
Arithmetic	4.1	4.0	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.5	3.5	3.5
Composite	4.1	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.8	3.4	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.5

[a]The grade equivalent scores beginning in 1957 are based on 1955 national norms; beginning in 1964, on 1964 national norms.

9673

CITY-WIDE MEANS
IOWA TESTS OF BASIC SKILLS

GRADE 6B

Skill Tested	Means in Grade Equivalent Units--National Mean 6.1													
	1957[a]	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Reading	6.2	6.1	6.1	6.0	5.9	5.9	5.9	5.4	5.4	5.2	5.1	5.1	5.0	5.0
Arithmetic	6.1	6.0	6.0	5.9	5.9	5.9	5.9	5.4	5.3	5.1	4.9	5.0	4.9	5.0
Composite	6.1	6.0	6.0	5.9	5.9	5.9	5.9	5.4	5.4	5.2	5.1	5.1	5.0	5.1

a The grade equivalent scores beginning in 1957 are based on 1955 national norms; beginning in 1964, on 1964 national norms.

9674

69-828 O-72-pt. 19B—5

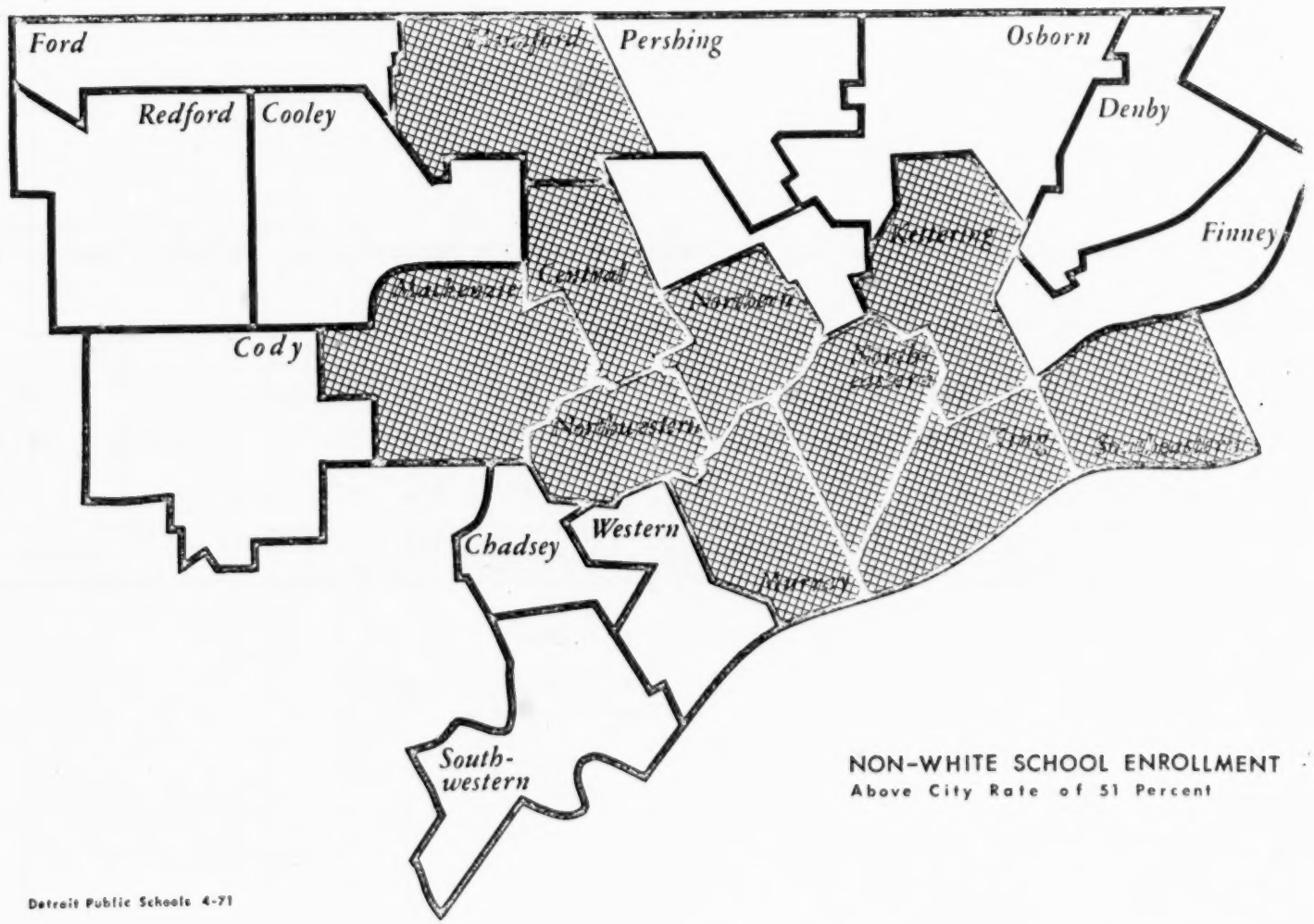
CITY -WIDE MEANS
IOWA TESTS OF BASIC SKILLS

GRADE 8B

Skill Tested	Means in Grade Equivalent Units--National Mean 8.1													
	1957[a]	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Reading	7.8	7.9	8.0	7.9	7.8	7.9	7.9	7.1	7.1	7.1	6.8	6.6	6.6	6.6
Arithmetic	7.8	8.0	8.1	8.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	7.0	6.9	6.9	6.7	6.6	6.5	6.6
Composite	7.8	7.8	8.0	7.8	7.8	7.9	7.9	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.0	6.8	6.7	6.8

[a] The grade equivalent scores beginning in 1957 are based on 1955 national norms; beginning in 1964, on 1964 national norms.

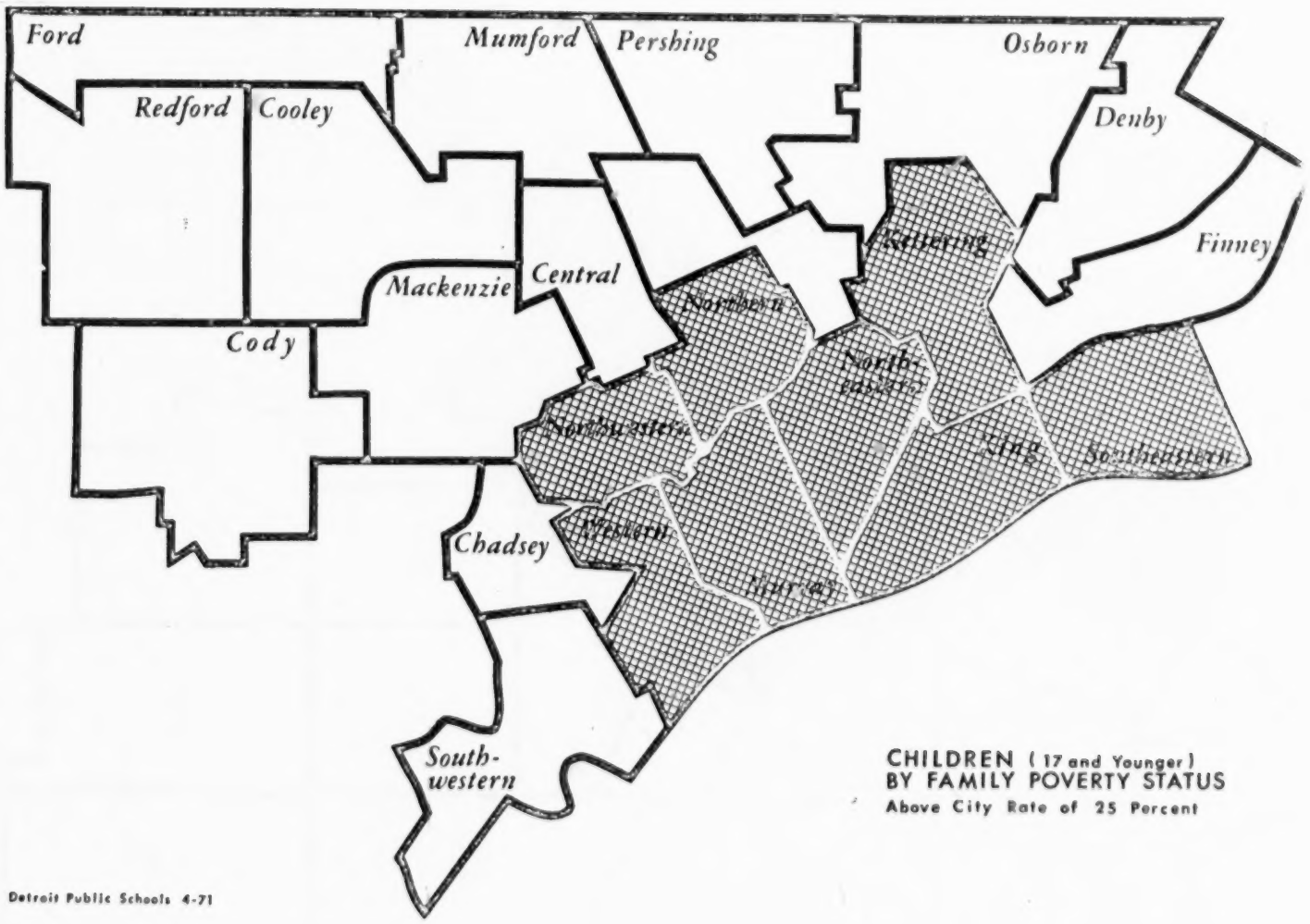
9675



NON-WHITE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT
Above City Rate of 51 Percent

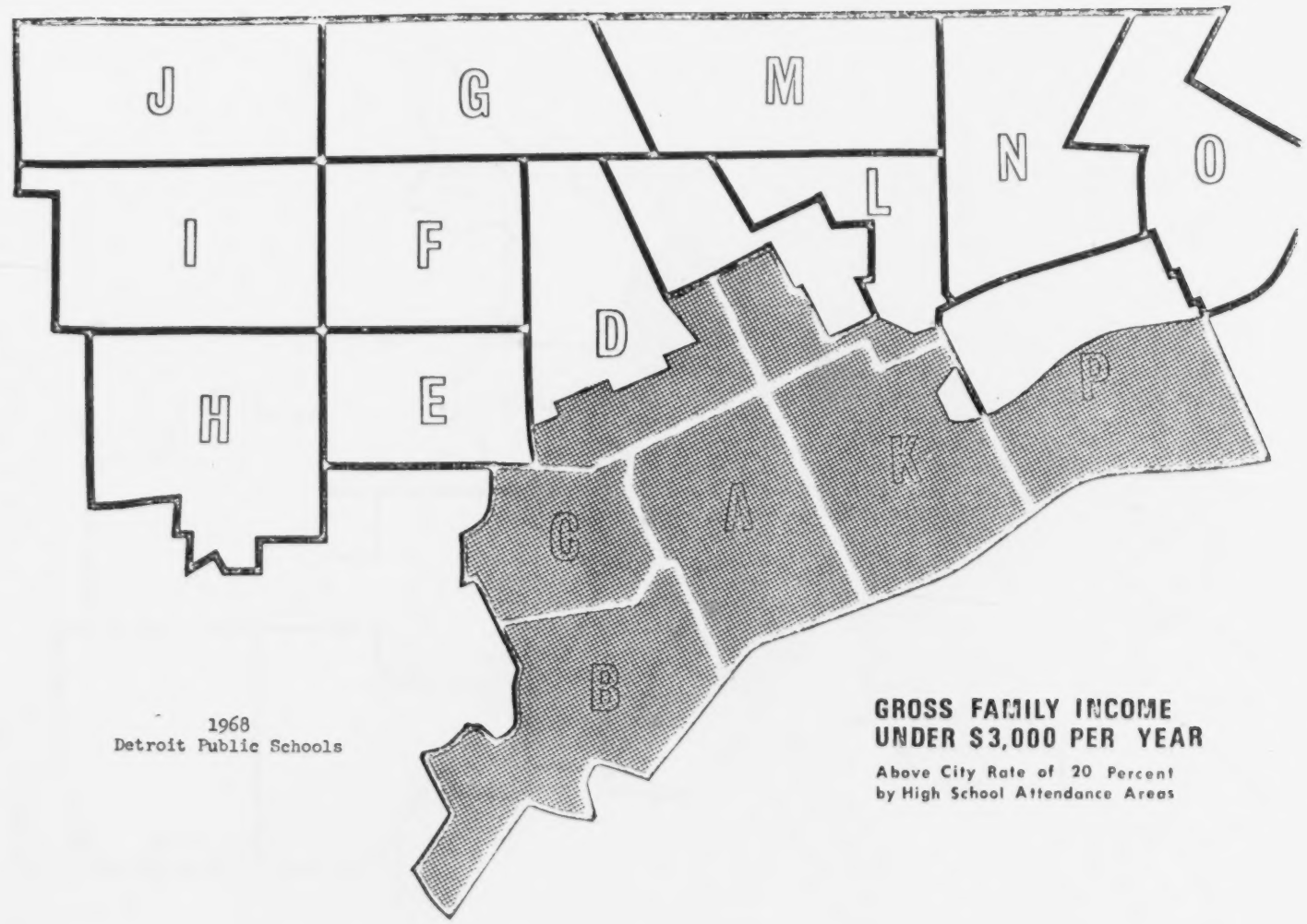
Detroit Public Schools 4-71

9676



CHILDREN (17 and Younger)
BY FAMILY POVERTY STATUS
Above City Rate of 25 Percent

9677

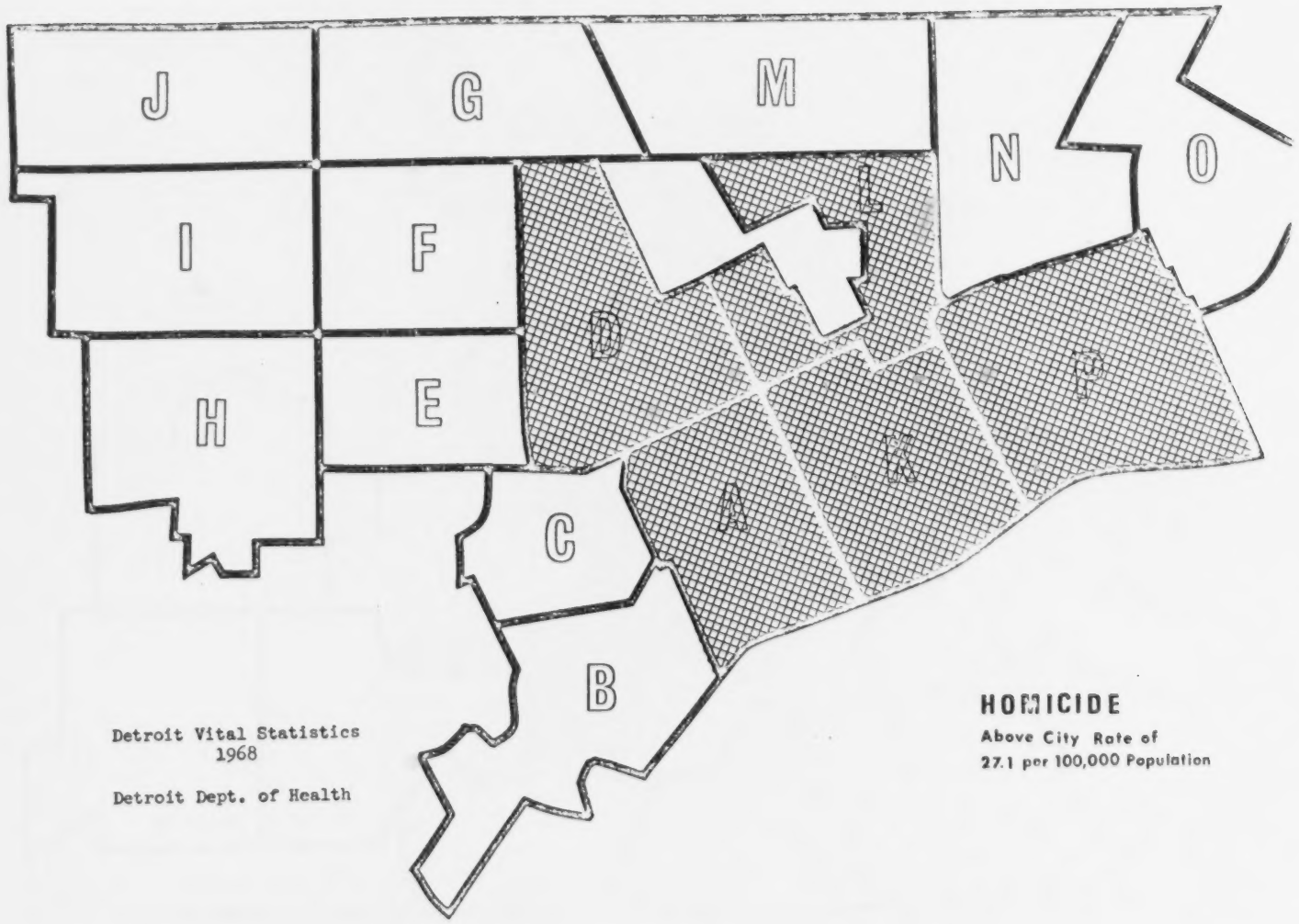


1968
Detroit Public Schools

GROSS FAMILY INCOME UNDER $3,000 PER YEAR

Above City Rate of 20 Percent
by High School Attendance Areas

9678



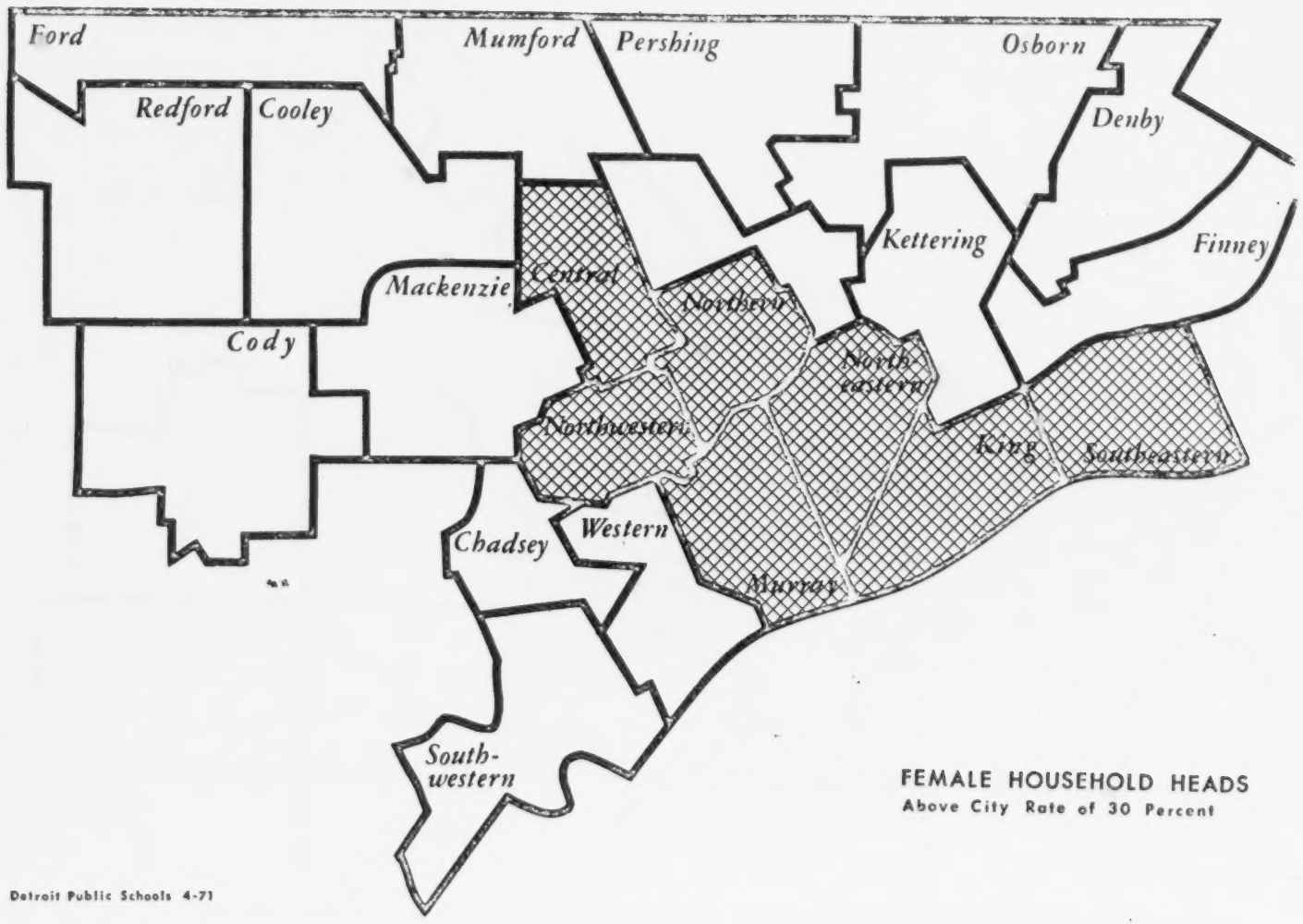
Detroit Vital Statistics
1968

Detroit Dept. of Health

HOMICIDE

Above City Rate of
27.1 per 100,000 Population

9679

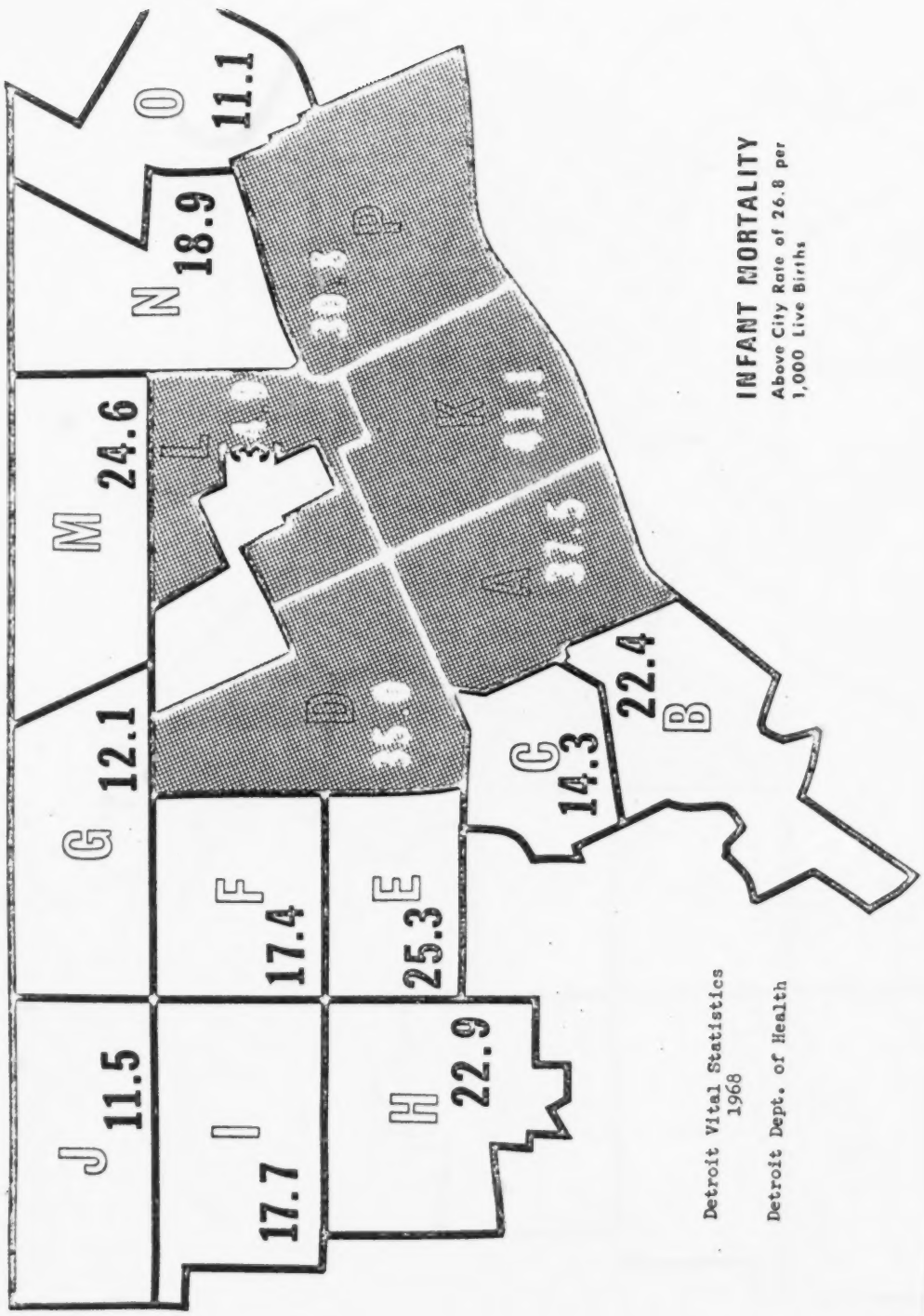


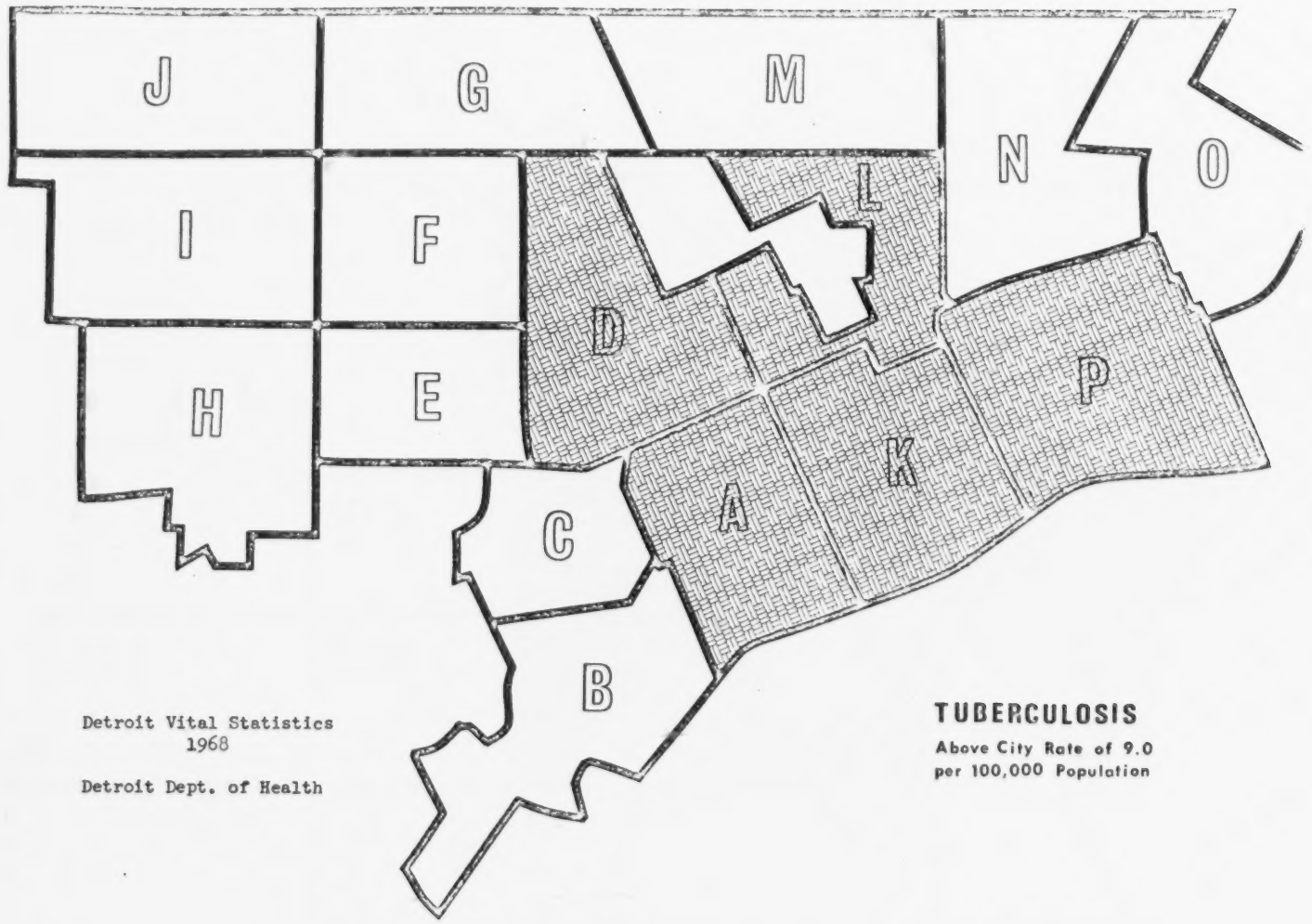
FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS
Above City Rate of 30 Percent

Detroit Public Schools 4-71

9680

70


INFANT MORTALITY
Above City Rate of 26.8 per
1,000 Live Births
M 24.6
N 18.9
O 11.1
L 30.1
K 31.5
A 37.5
D 34.0
C 14.3
B 22.4
G 12.1
F 17.4
E 25.3
J 11.5
I 17.7
H 22.9
Detroit Vital Statistics
1968
Detroit Dept. of Health



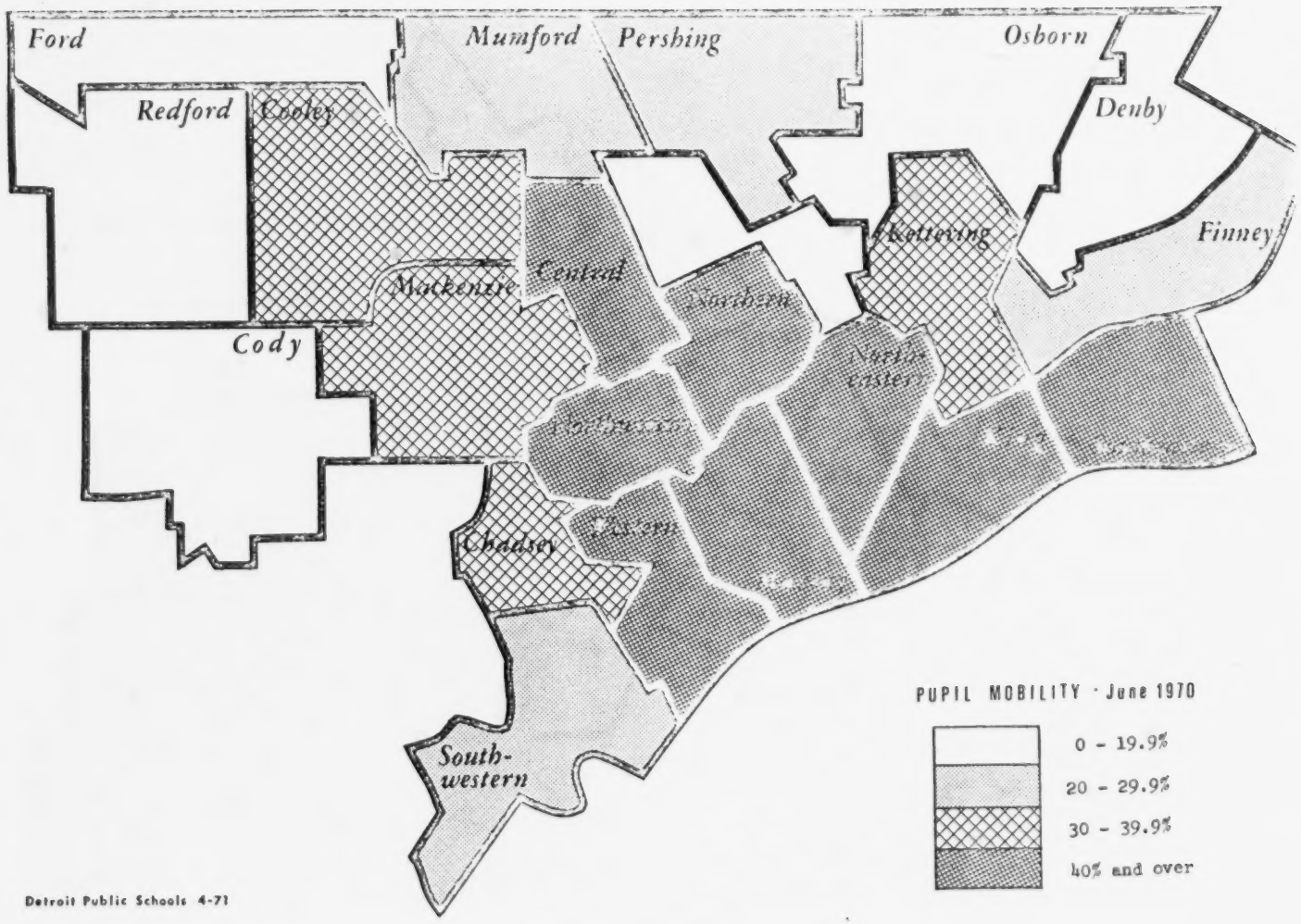
Detroit Vital Statistics
1968

Detroit Dept. of Health

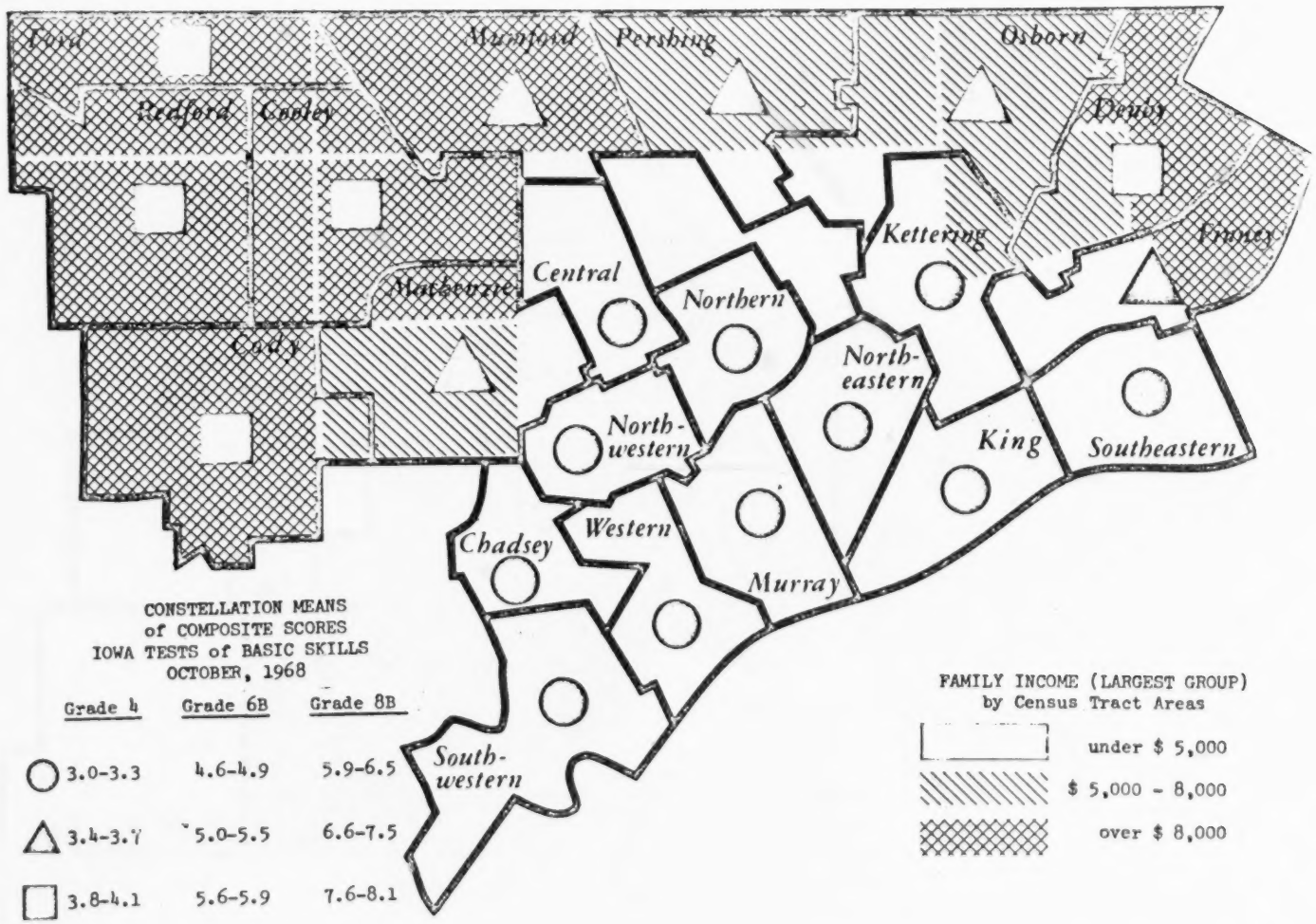
TUBERCULOSIS

Above City Rate of 9.0
per 100,000 Population

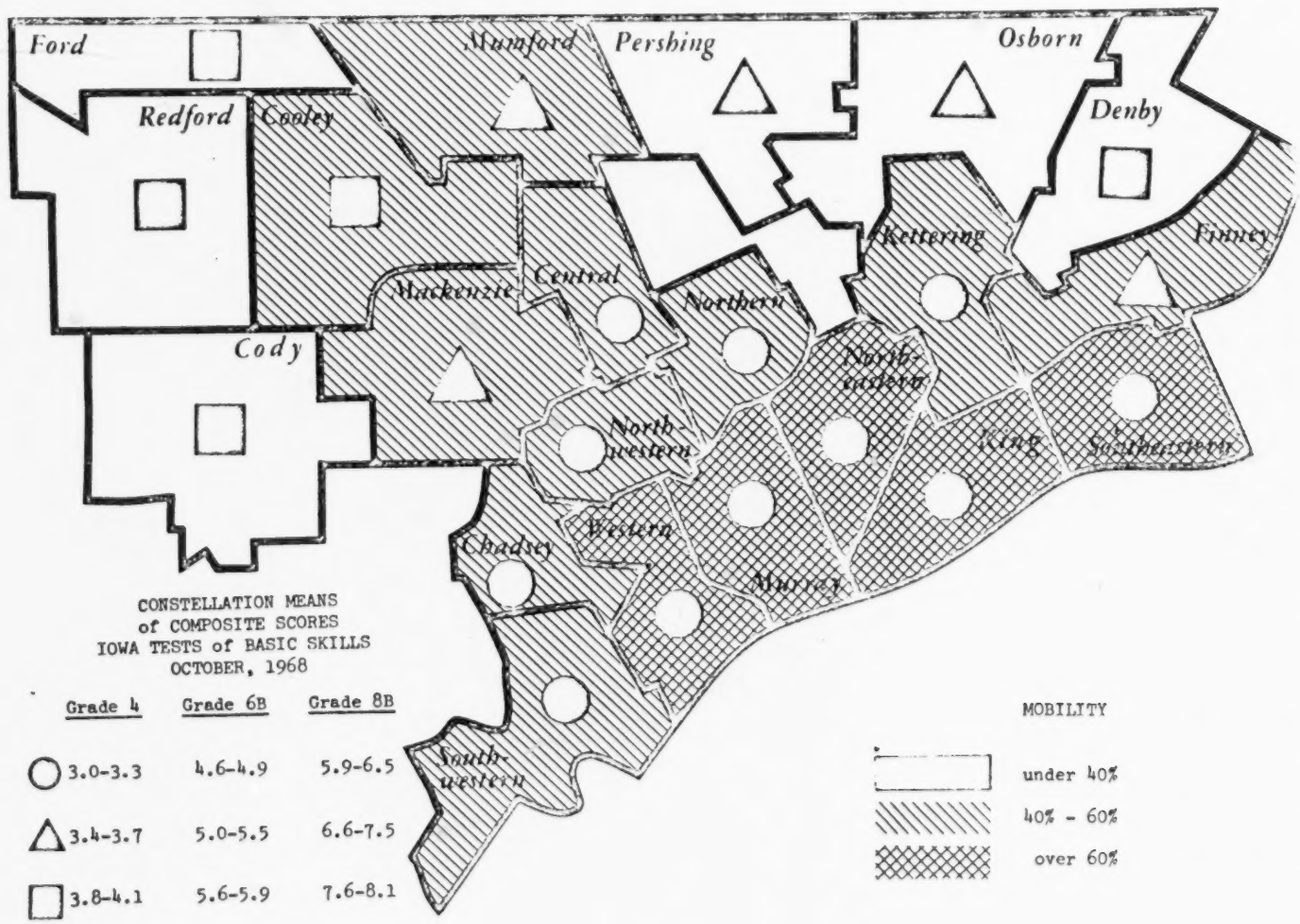
9682


Ford
Mumford
Pershing
Osborn
Redford
Cooley
Denby
Kettering
Finney
Mackenzie
Central
Northern
Cody
Northeastern
Chadsey
Southwestern
PUPIL MOBILITY · June 1970
0 - 19.9%
20 - 29.9%
30 - 39.9%
40% and over
Detroit Public Schools 4-71

9683


Ford
Mumford
Pershing
Osborn
Redford
Cooley
Denby
Kettering
Finney
Central
Northern
Mackenzie
Cody
North-eastern
North-western
King
Southeastern
Chadsey
Western
Murray
South-western
CONSTELLATION MEANS
of COMPOSITE SCORES
IOWA TESTS of BASIC SKILLS
OCTOBER, 1968
Grade 4
Grade 6B
Grade 8B
3.0-3.3
4.6-4.9
5.9-6.5
3.4-3.7
5.0-5.5
6.6-7.5
3.8-4.1
5.6-5.9
7.6-8.1
FAMILY INCOME (LARGEST GROUP)
by Census Tract Areas
under $ 5,000
$ 5,000 - 8,000
over $ 8,000

9684



CONSTELLATION MEANS
of COMPOSITE SCORES
IOWA TESTS of BASIC SKILLS
OCTOBER, 1968

	Grade 4	Grade 6B	Grade 8B
○	3.0-3.3	4.6-4.9	5.9-6.5
△	3.4-3.7	5.0-5.5	6.6-7.5
□	3.8-4.1	5.6-5.9	7.6-8.1

MOBILITY

under 40%

40% - 60%

over 60%

9685

Senator MONDALE. The committee is in recess, to reconvene at 10 a.m., on Friday, in room 1114, of the New Senate Office Building.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p.m., the Select Committee was recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., on October 1, 1971, in room 1114, of the New Senate Office Building.)

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN MICHIGAN

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1971

U.S. SENATE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY,
Washington, D.C.

The Select Committee met at 10:12 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 1114, of the New Senate Office Building, the Honorable Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Mondale and Javits.

Staff members present: William C. Smith, staff director and general counsel; Donn Mitchell, professional staff; and Leonard Strickman, minority counsel.

Senator MONDALE. The committee will stand in order. Dr. Drachler, you may begin.

STATEMENT OF DR. NORMAN DRACHLER, FORMER SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT, DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Dr. DRACHLER. I am Norman Drachler, Director of the Institute for Educational Leadership at The George Washington University and formerly, Superintendent of Schools in Detroit. I will address my remarks to the Detroit school experience.

In meeting with your staff the issues of achievement and testing were raised, particularly as these relate to the success or failure of Title I. I thought it might be useful, since it also relates to the question of our total testing program, to review our Title I findings and to stress the need for the gathering of some common data in various Title I communities in order to be able to have some benchmarks by which to evaluate school progress or shortcomings as these relate to Federal compensatory programs.

I have been concerned with this issue for some time, particularly during the past 2 years. We were anxious in Detroit to evaluate our achievement in Title I schools and to strive for parity on local funding in view of our decentralization program. In a sense, we anticipated the court decision that came about in Washington, D.C.

Senator MONDALE. *Hobson.*

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, *Hobson* versus *Hansen* which was followed by the later decision on the issue of parity.

ALL DATA COMPUTERIZED

We began in Detroit to gather certain data for our computer for every single school. The financial data in our report is as of a given

payroll and can be retrieved readily, the additional critera are based on annual reports. Since Detroit is decentralized into eight regions the data is available by individual schools as well as regional districts and separates Federal funds from our local and State revenues.

On the sheet before me is a listing for Region IV, and as an example, I am pointing to the Burt School. We indicate for this school the number of teachers it has on the given payroll date, the educational or professional preparation of the teachers, the racial distribution of teachers and administrators, the number of teachers that reside in Detroit as well as the number living outside the city and the distribution of teachers at each salary step. The latter, by the way, relates to the Washington, D.C., issue. So that we know——

Senator MONDALE. How about the verbal skills of the teachers?

Dr. DRACHLER. That we do not have. It probably is one critera that should be added.

Senator MONDALE. Right.

Dr. DRACHLER. There is some national research that suggests where teachers have greater verbal skill they generally can relate more effectively to students. Frankly, as a superintendent, I have never met a teacher that was speechless, but nevertheless, I recognize that the issue of verbal skills and the ability to relate to students is important.

Senator MONDALE. Based on your experience as a school administrator and your career in education, would you say that there is not an exact correlation between pay and longevity and degree of capability as a teacher?

Dr. DRACHLER. Before I answer your question may I add that we also include within the fact sheet the cost per pupil for teachers, administrators, and counselors as these pertain to each school. Also, we indicate what we spend in Federal funds by Title for each eligible school. We record the mobility rate of students within that school, that is, how many students move between the 3d week after school opening and 1 week prior to graduation. We have a tremendous amount of mobility within our city during the year. In these figures we do not include the normal type of moving that occurs during July, August, or in early September. Over 40 percent of our children moved during the last school year. The most stable schools have about 6-percent mobility and in the most unstable situation we had last year one school with 102-percent student mobility during the year. The latter is a school where we have a very large proportion of southern, white Appalachian families who move back and forth to the rural areas or within the city.

Senator MONDALE. This is a kind of——

Dr. DRACHLER. May I answer your question now, unless you wish to pursue this matter.

Senator MONDALE. Go ahead.

CONDITIONS FOR HIGH ACHIEVEMENT

Dr. DRACHLER. Thus, having this data including race of students, turnover of teachers, and attendance of children we put together these facts for over 300 schools in this single book.

When we review the facts for these 300 schools we find that where the attendance of the children is high (over 90 percent), the mobility or turnover of children and teachers is low, and where we have a good balance between beginning and experienced teachers, we generally find

high achievement and a strong inter-relationship among these factors. Locate schools in which these four conditions are in reverse: large turnover of students, very low percentage of teachers who have been in the school for some time——

Senator MONDALE. Would you say there tends to be a correlation between high student turnover and high teacher turnover?

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, sir, generally speaking. What happens is that over the years in a large city experienced teachers seem to transfer to schools where middle-class black and white children attend. Thus the inner-city schools often have teachers with the least experience and with a greater amount of turnover. I do not wish to imply that the older teacher is always better but a balance between young and old teachers in a school is desirable since it brings a certain stability to the school.

Senator, in relation to your question, we compared 20 schools. Ten pairs where the potential of the children was the same, but achievement was different. *I must admit that we did not find the answers* that we had anticipated. In these 20 schools we generally found that where there taught a larger number of middle-class women teachers, the type who says "do it over and over again until it is right," and more frequently fails the youngster—he often achieves higher scores on the national exams. Our findings, however, were incomplete since we do not know how many of these youngsters dropped out of school at a later date due to embarrassment or frustration because of over-age. Shall I continue?

Senator MONDALE. Please.

Dr. DRACHLER. I believe that the kind of data that is contained in this type of fact book is necessary when one compares Title I as well as non-Title I schools. One obviously must know the conditions under which children are trying to learn and teachers are attempting to teach. A school with 6-percent mobility presents a different challenge than the school where over 100-percent turnover takes place during the year.

Now I have appeared before you in the past, sir——

Senator MONDALE. You are our most seasoned witness.

ACHIEVEMENT SCORES

Dr. DRACHLER. Well, possibly I had to return because I wasn't too clear in the first appearance. My thrust today is primarily on the issue of achievement scores and I understand that there has been some discussion before your committee on this subject.

When I appeared before your committee last, I indicated that we were beginning to find evidence in Detroit that since 1967–68 when we began to use our Title I funds in a more concentrated manner we began to note signs or trends of progress in regard to Title I schools. I am aware, of course, that one can find other studies that arrive at a negative conclusion. I would however welcome that this committee charge some agency to take our data, rip it apart, study the variables, because I do believe that what we found in Detroit will be found in nearly every large city.

Allow me to recall some facts about our city first. I don't believe that I had this data when I appeared over a year ago.

Exhibit A

Population of Detroit Metropolitan Area

On this transparency which I label *Exhibit A* you note the changes that took place within Detroit and the surrounding Metropolitan area between 1940 and 1970. Note that the out-migration to the suburbs began between 1940 and 1950, although our population increased within that decade. Whereas in 1940, Detroit's population represented 69 percent of the metropolitan area, it dropped down to 61 percent or a loss of 8 percent within the decade. By 1960 the city of Detroit represented 44 percent of the metropolitan population and as of 1970, it is 35 percent.

Senator MONDALE. The population of Detroit didn't drop, but the population of the suburbs grows dramatically.

Dr. DRACHLER. That is generally correct, although since 1950 there was a decline of the general Detroit population and an increase in public school attendance. The point, however, is that in 1960 and 1970 the city's population is not composed of the same citizens but represents tens of thousands of newcomers to the city. You are likely to find more Detroit high school graduates in the suburbs than within the city proper. Even during the past year, every single month, 2,000 to 4,000 students left the city and an almost equal number of students entered our schools.

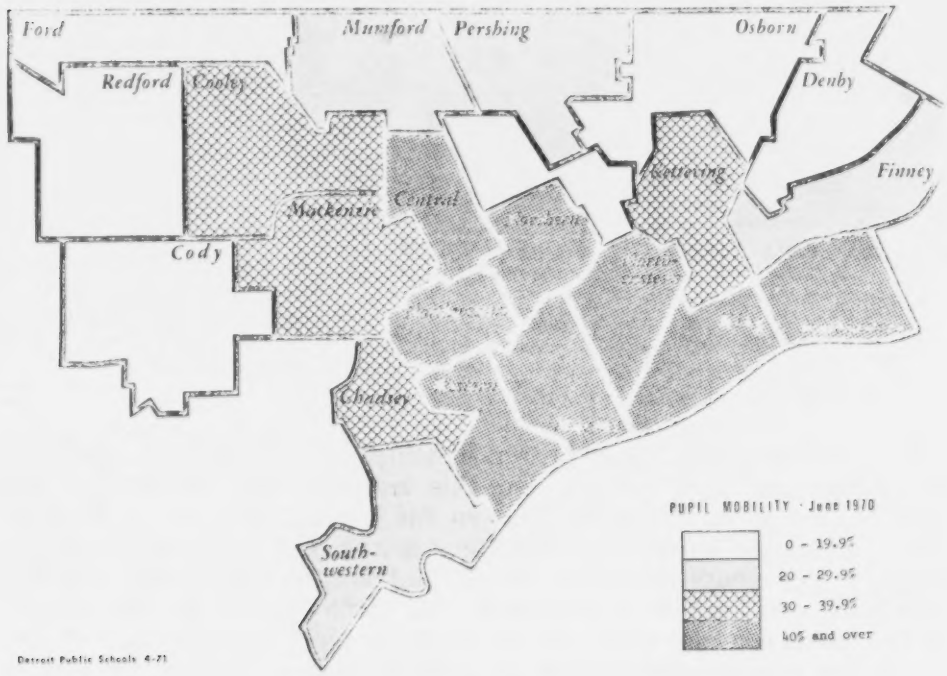
Senator MONDALE. What kind of child is coming in and what kind is going out?

Dr. DRACHLER. Obviously, the child that leaves is generallly from a white middle-class family. However, Detroit's strength lies in the fact that middle-class blacks have generally remained in the city. The child

who leaves is usually a middle-class white youngster who is generally replaced by low-income white or black, mostly black, students. This, sir, is very closely related to the issue of school achievement which I will illustrate later.

Today, about 40 percent of the 1.5 million Detroiters is black. Sixty-five percent of the public school population is black, and the number of youngsters under 20 has increased. Thus, the population between 21 and 64 has decreased, and the number of citizens 65 years of age and over has increased. In other words, the productive element of the population has declined while the dependent numbers have increased. Of the senior citizens, nearly 80 percent are white, their children in many instances live in the suburbs, and their grandchildren do not attend Detroit public schools. Detroit is a city with various communities having contrasting values and priorities. Senior citizens seem to identify much more readily with the needs of the police or fire department than they can with increasing school services.

Exhibit B



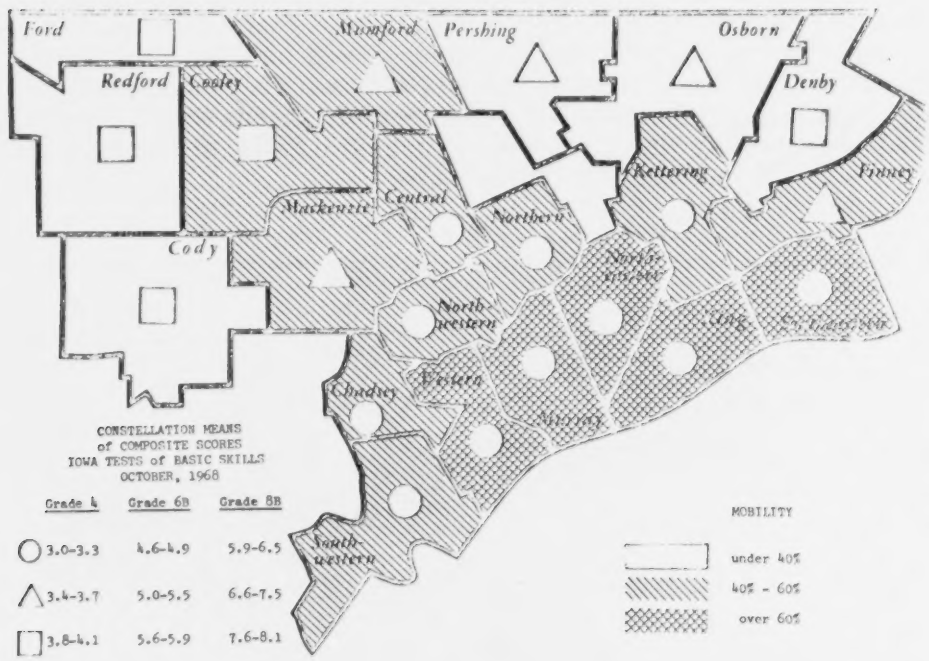
Intercity Pupil Mobility

I am now focusing on the screen *Exhibit B* which describes the mobility within the school system in the city as contrasted to the out migration and in migration that was evident in the former exhibit. Mobility in this case again refers to students who move between the 3d week of school and 1 week prior to graduation. Here you note that in the Southeastern, King, Northern, Murray, and Northeastern high school constellations, the so-called inner-city ring, over 40 percent of the children move—in some instances individual schools had a mobility rate of 102 percent. I have seen the record of a 3d grader who had attended 11 schools.

Senator MONDALE. In that year?

Dr. DRACHLER. No. In her school career, that is, the 3 years that she had been to school. As I looked at that child's record I could not help but compare it with my youngsters who had attended only 3 schools prior to entering a university or college. I don't think that we could quite fully appreciate the tremendous difficulties and burdens that children with high mobility carry and obviously the difficulties that this constant turnover presents to teachers.

Exhibit C



In *Exhibit C* you note the relationship of high and low mobility to educational achievement. On this transparency we present the 1968 achievement scores of children for grades four, six, and eight. These are based on the national Iowa scores. The circle on the transparency represents the lower third, the triangle, the middle, and the square reflects highest achievement. All three figures are represented as the mean for that area. As we place the mobility transparency beneath the achievement record the relationship of stability to higher grades is obvious. This, of course, reflects the shortcomings in housing, health, employment, and——

Senator MONDALE. Is there a stable, black, middle-class community?

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, sir. Primarily you will find it in the Mumford area and isolated schools.

Senator MONDALE. Where is that?

Dr. DRACHLER. Right here in the northwest area of the city. It is the triangle on the map.

Senator MONDALE. That is median achievement?

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, but for the entire high school area. For the individual schools it differs. Here is a school which is a predominantly black school that has the 2d or 3d highest achievement rating in the city.

Senator MONDALE. That is black?

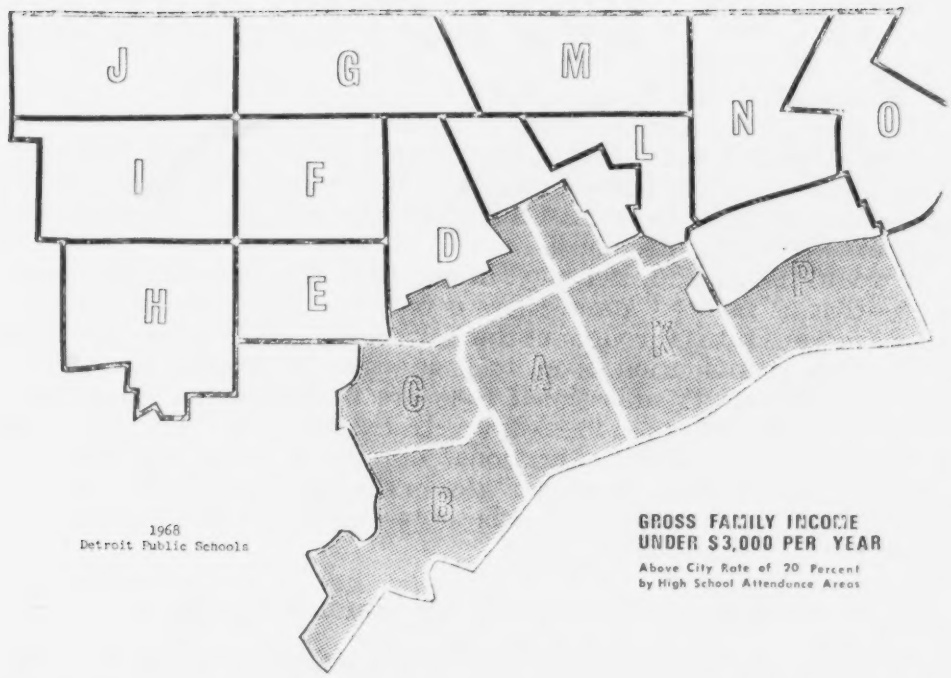
Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, sir. That is predominantly black. The Burton School—which I mentioned earlier is predominantly white but has a mobility of over 102 percent—has an achievement level that is below the scores achieved by at least a half a dozen schools in their vicinity that are predominantly black.

I would like to add, if I may, in regard to the thrust of your question—that as far as I know, there is only one single educational test that everyone takes throughout the Nation and that is the Army Draft Education Examination given to young men in our service. The result of these draft educational tests are published by achievement level by State and racial breakdown. In the State of Washington the blacks taking the draft educational test for a given year achieved higher than whites in 10 other States in the country. I mentioned this only since this examination is the only one that I know that is offered in every single state.

SCHOOLS UNPREPARED FOR QUICK CHANGES

While we are looking at *Exhibit C* which reflects the mobility within our city, I would like to add that due to the summer disturbances of 1967, the mobility pattern has changed. Citizens from the inner-city, when they move, tend in the last few years, to leapfrog over the center part of the city where the 1967 disturbances occurred and move towards the northwest and the northeast. These sudden movements often cause frustration and disappointment. A school that was formerly half or three quarters filled suddenly has an enrollment far beyond the capacity of the building. It almost seems that when the ghetto moves, the people carry the ghetto conditions with them on their backs. The situation is even more complicated since the services that these children formerly had in Title I areas are no longer available and the newly settled parents, looking for stability, are often opposed to having their children bused to neighboring schools that have space, even though the schools may in some instances be in higher socioeconomic areas. If you will look at the Cooley High School constellation, I am pointing to a school called Guest. That school 5 years ago had a capacity of 1,000 pupils and an enrollment of some 700 white students. About a year and a half later that school with the same capacity had over 1,400 children, most of them black. Until we could rent nearby classrooms or put up modular units, the children were in overcrowded situations and naturally, did not have the advantages of a good school situation.

Exhibit D-1

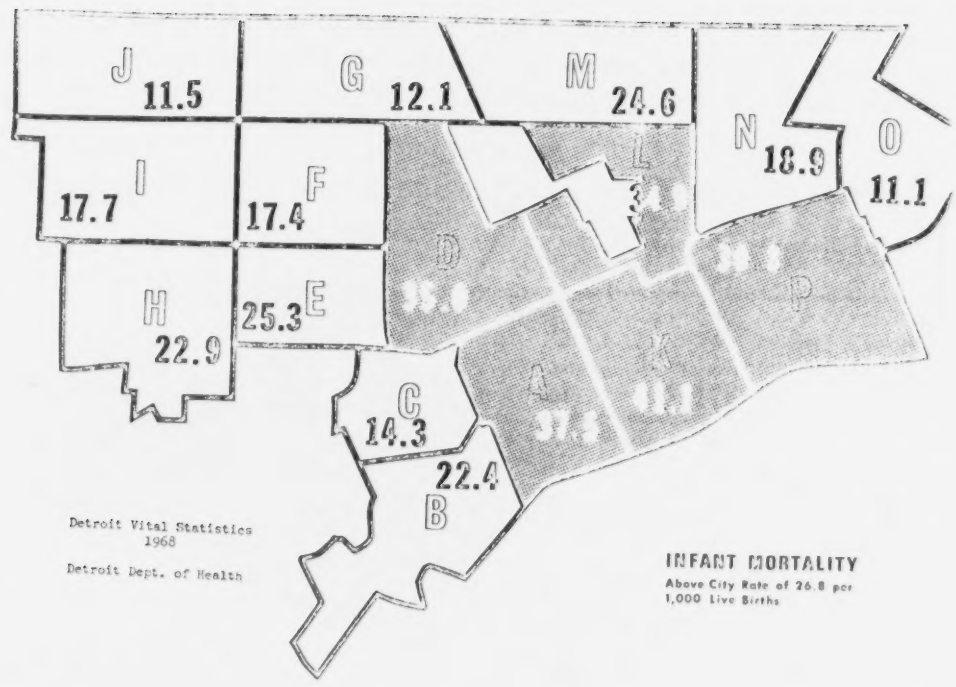


High Mortality Rate

This is a map of Detroit indicating the facts of life and death during the year 1968. The overlays that I will place on this general map reflect family income under $3,000 per family, infant mortality above the city average, deaths due to tuberculosis above the city average, and homicides above the city average. You will note that as I place one overlay on top of the other they almost coincide. Where these overlap, we had the disturbances of 1967. Obviously, these factors were not the only causes for the riots but I do not believe that they are accidental in relation to the disturbances for that summer.

Please look at the high figures on infant mortality which are based on the rate to 1,000 births. The literature in the field of infant mortality generally concludes that where the deaths in this category amount to 30 or over per 1,000 births—then nearly 20–25% of the youngsters who survive birth generally have neurological defects which require special medical or clinical attention. These are defects which are not necessarily related to intelligence but do require attention if the youngster is to function well in school or in society. In many instances they go undetected both by parents and teachers although they need specialized attention and care. These are the areas where we also find the greatest number of immature births from 12 per 1,000 in one census tract to 41 per 1,000 in another insofar as infant mortality is concerned.

Exhibit D-2

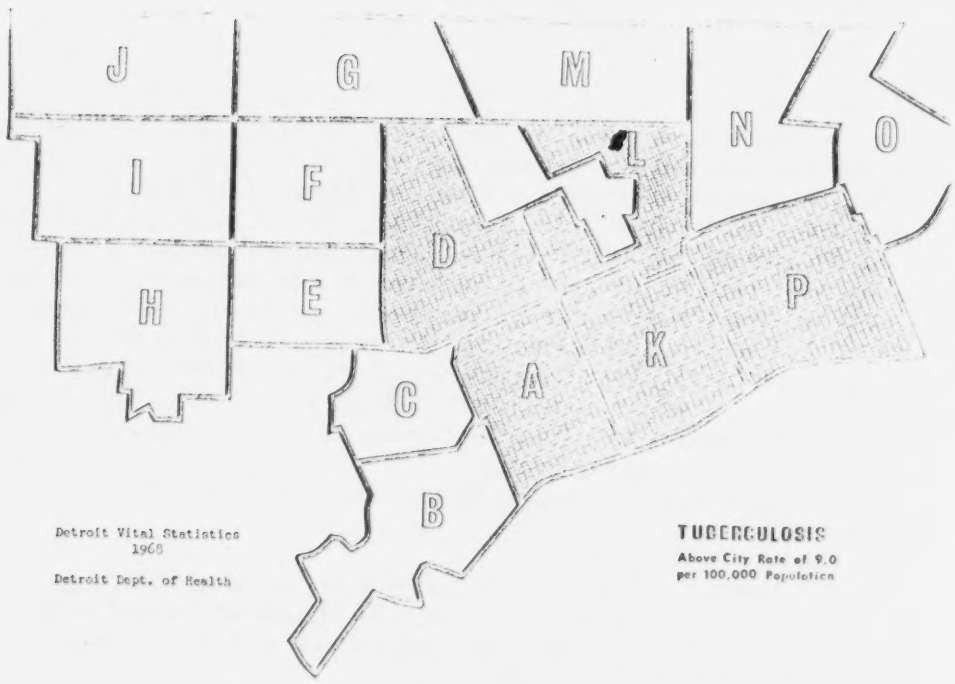


Detroit Vital Statistics
1968

Detroit Dept. of Health

INFANT MORTALITY
Above City Rate of 26.8 per
1,000 Live Births

Exhibit D-1



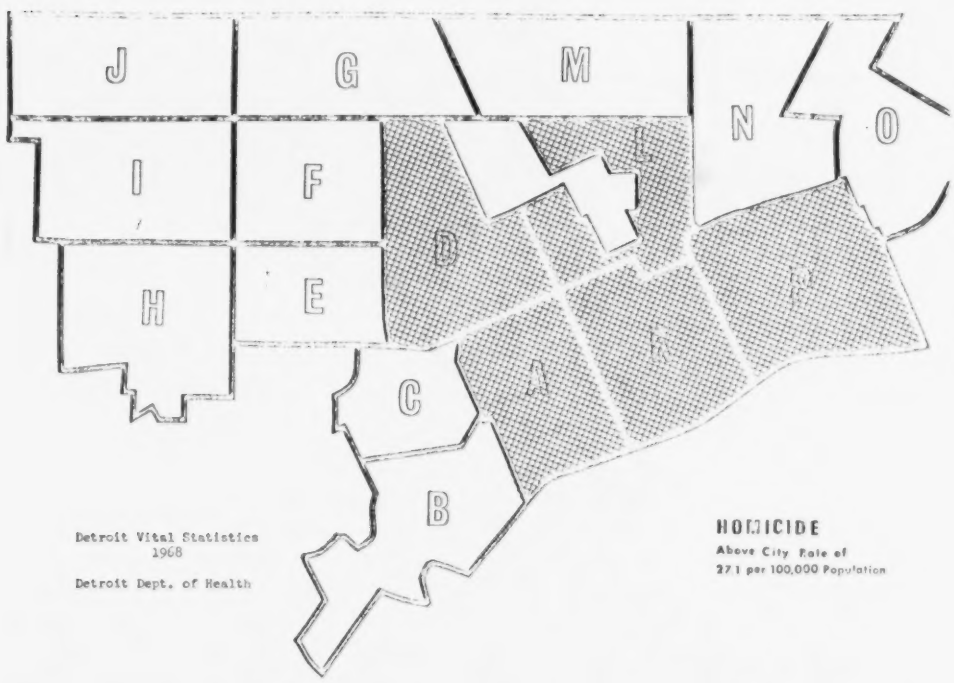
Detroit Vital Statistics
1968

Detroit Dept. of Health

TUBERCULOSIS
Above City Rate of 9.0
per 100,000 Population

Now look at the overlay pinpointing deaths due to tuberculosis. Most of us are under the impression that we have wiped out tuberculosis in our society. Note that deaths due to tuberculosis range from three per 100,000 in one part of the city to 33 per 100,000 deaths in another.

Exhibit D-4



The last chart that I want to point to is the homicide rate. The city rate for homicide during the year 1968 was 27 per 100,000 population. In the areas where we have a low income, high infant mortality, and higher rates of deaths due to tuberculosis, the homicide rates are 59, 54, 53, 39, and 36 per 100,000. These facts are not presented to defend the low achievement level of the children, but to indicate that unless, in addition to improving our schools, we do something about improving health, housing, and discrimination in employment, with the best of plans we can only do patchwork in the field of education. A youngster who comes to school doesn't merely bring with him his pencils and his books. He carries with him the burden of his environment as well as his day-to-day living experience.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have any Headstart programs in that targeted area?

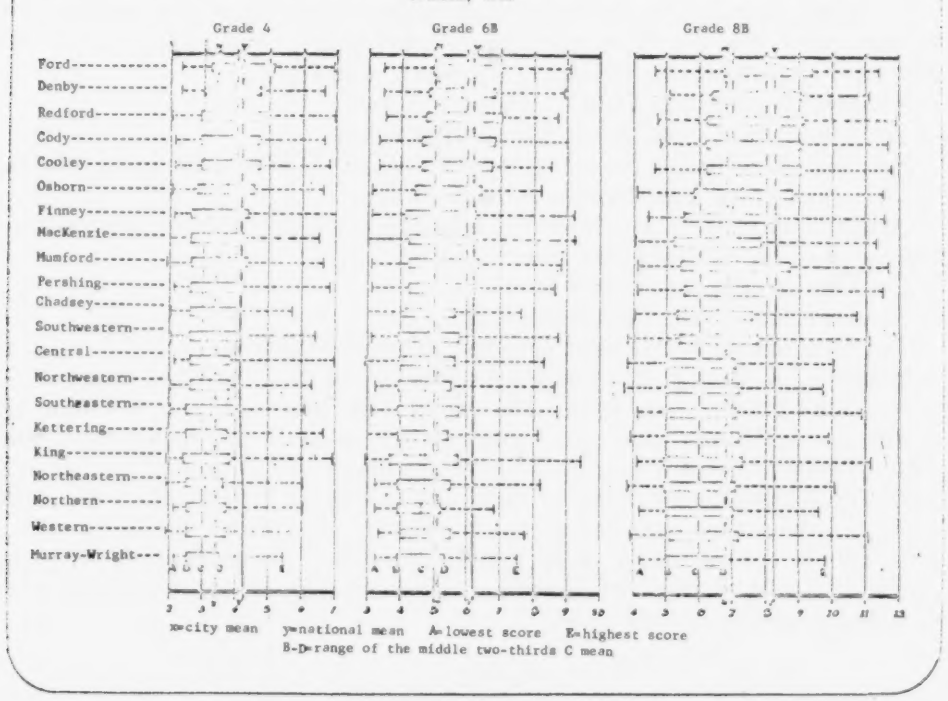
Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. I don't want to go into this as a central part of our hearing today; but, in your view, has Headstart helped at all in apprehending some of these problems earlier and doing something about it physically and mentally?

Dr. DRACHLER. We have had only a few Headstart programs. Due to the great mobility in our city, it is difficult to assess its impact although the reports to me have been favorable. However, in the area where we do have public housing and where the mobility is slightly decreased, we have noticed greater gains by the children in the latter grades.

Exhibit E

CONSTELLATION MEANS AND RANGES OF COMPOSITE SCORES--GRADES 4, 6B, AND 8B--IOWA TEST OF BASIC SKILLS
OCTOBER, 1966



If I may, I would like to approach the testing issue now. This transparency indicates the range of achievement in each of our 22 high school constellations for the elementary grades. You note on the transparency the national norm line, the city norm, and the range. From this chart it is clear that regardless of the national or city norm for a given high school area, there are students in each of these 22 high school constellations that were achieving far above the national norm.

49 Percent Must Fall Below Norm

The criticism often aimed at large cities is due to the fact that the national norm is misunderstood by the public and sometimes by the press. A norm, as you know, simply means that for the students who took this particular test in a variety of communities throughout the nation a norm is established by the achievement levels made across the country and naturally, 49 percent of the students who take the examination must fall below the national norm and 50 percent are above the national norm. As far as the public is concerned, everyone wants his child or his school to be at or above the national norm. It's like wanting everyone to be at the average. Only impractical educators would devise a measurement which will be used to whip the profession for the rest of lits life. Even if we were a Nation of geniuses, 49 percent will still fall below the norm.

On this chart the national norm is represented by the red line. The blue is the city mean and——

Senator Mondale. The red is the national mean?

Dr. DRACHLER. That is right.

Senator MONDALE. And the blue is the city mean?

Dr. DRACHLER. That is right. Note that in the same high school constellation where we have children in the 4th grade at 2.7, there are also some youngsters working at the 6th grade level.

Senator MONDALE. That is the Iowa test?

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, this is for the Iowa test.

Senator MONDALE. So at grade four, it—These are basic skills?

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, these are basic skills.

Senator MONDALE. In the Ford High School, grade four, you were—the mean of that school was where again?

Dr. DRACHLER. Just below four.

Senator MONDALE. I can't tell it.

Dr. DRACHLER. I will read it to you from the figures.

Senator MONDALE. So Ford was just about the national mean?

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes. Note that Ford also has children performing below the national mean and youngsters performing two, three, and four grades above the national norm. In every single school in Detroit, with the exception of three or four out of the 200 to 300 schools, there were children that were working a year or two above the norm. This is probably true all over America. Despite my dissatisfaction with the norm as a measuring instrument, I use it simply because it is the most common measurements used.

Exhibit F

CITY-WIDE MEANS
IOWA TESTS OF BASIC SKILLS

GRADE 4B

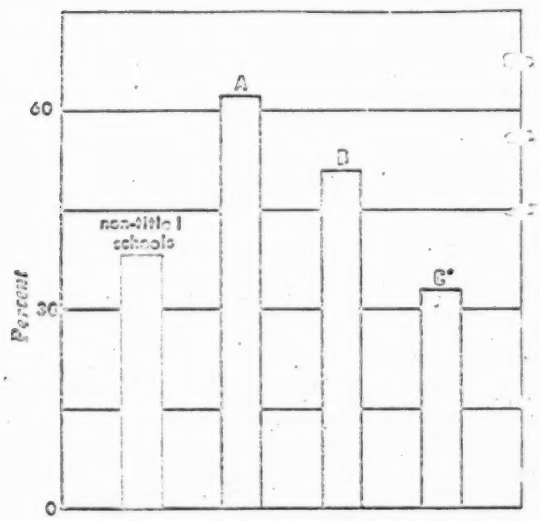
Skill Tested	Means in Grade Equivalent Units--National Mean 4.1													
	1957[a]	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Reading	4.0	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.6	3.3	3.5	3.4	3.2	3.1	3.2	3.2
Arithmetic	4.1	4.0	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.5	3.5	3.5
Composite	4.1	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.8	3.4	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.5

[a]The grade equivalent scores beginning in 1957 are based on 1955 national norms; beginning in 1964, on 1964 national norms.

On this transparency we recorded the national norm for the Iowa basic skills from 1957 through 1970. Note that 1957 was the last year when Detroit was at the national norm as a city. Since then it dropped steadily each year up to 1968. In 1968, 1969, and 1970 we began to hold and to gain slightly during those years. In this period, the same would be true of the 6th grade. Although our study is not 100 percent completed, nevertheless, it is clear that the one factor common for all of these schools was Title I. Actually, we have a great deal of information but little knowledge.

Exhibit G

PERCENT OF SCHOOLS SHOWING GAINS IN MEANS FOR 95 NON-TITLE I SCHOOLS AND FOR 110 TITLE I SCHOOLS (45 "A", 35 "B", AND 30 "C") OF GRADE 4 READING TEST SCORES RELATIVE TO CITY MEANS--1965 to 1969



We know that 62 percent of the schools in the highest concentrated areas increased in reading during that period, but we don't know which programs helped them the most and why the other 38 percent did not do as well. For the 45 highly concentrated schools which later rose to 49, you will note that there was a general gain of 2.4 in reading although the city as a whole declined 2 months during the same period. These are the so-called "A" schools as represented on the transparency.

Title I and Achievement Scores

In the "B" category where we had lesser concentration for 35 schools, the progress during the same period was 1.4. And in the "C" category, 30 schools where we discontinued additional services in September 1968 due to cutbacks in Federal funds, the children show a decline in reading but not as great as for the city as a whole. This is, of course, very serious and regrettable because it is this group "C" that probably has the greatest potential for immediate improvement but it is neglected since these schools do not conform with present guidelines to qualify and if they did qualify, unless additional funds were added, we would again dilute the impact of Title I.

Senator Mondale. You will have to yield there.

Dr. Drachler. Do you need to stop?

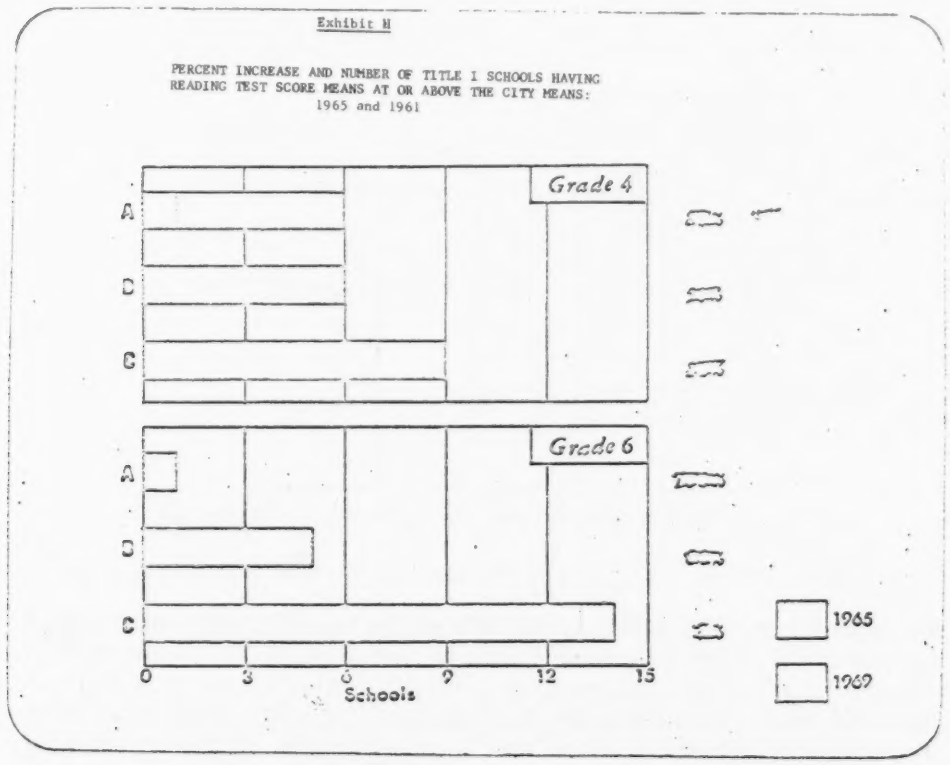
Senator Mondale. We have the School Lunch Program on the floor now: I think we should recess. I will be back in 15 or 20 minutes, I hope.

[Recess.]

Dr. DRACHLER. Would you like me to start?

Senator MONDALE. Yes, please.

Dr. DRACHLER. When we noticed the progress that I mentioned for Title I schools prior to our recess, we were obviously anxious to check this out from several angles.



The next transparency, therefore, reflects not the national but the city norm for our school community. We found that in 1965–66, only one of the 45 Title I category "A" schools was at the city norm. In 1969 there were six. Obviously, the city changed partially, but partially, these schools also improved. It's a combination of the two factors.

The question is often asked "Does money make a difference?" I'm not very competent to answer this question since we, in Detroit, have never had an opportunity to try money on a broad scale. I actually don't know whether it would work. I am told that in other places money does help to bring additional services, but when we tried money in these three Title I categories, it did make a difference since the improvement noted is in direct relationship to the additional services that we were able to provide with Title I funds. Note that "A" category made greater gains than "B" or "C" and "B" in turn, higher gains than "C."

Senator MONDALE. Now, the "A" schools is with the 45.

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, that is where we had our highest concentration of funds and services.

Senator MONDALE. The "B" was less; certainly Title I.

Dr. DRACHLER. Essentially Title I.

Senator MONDALE. How much Title I did you have in money?

Dr. DRACHLER. It varied from school to school.

Senator MONDALE. What was the total amount of Title I money the school system received?

Dr. DRACHLER. About $10 or $11 million.

Senator MONDALE. How many children in the 45 schools?

Dr. DRACHLER. Probably over 20,000 youngsters are enrolled in these 45 Title I schools.

Senator MONDALE. How many in the "B"?

Dr. DRACHLER. Approximately one-fourth less, or about 15,000.

Senator MONDALE. You said between 1,500 and 2,000?

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, I did say it but the figure should be raised to approximately 15,000.

Senator MONDALE. So that if you are——

Dr. DRACHLER. You are talking about 35,000 youngsters, but not every one of them.

Senator MONDALE. So you would divide $11 million essentially into that student population.

Dr. DRACHLER. Not essentially, because some of the funds went to other schools and to other activities. But the major portion was devoted to the concentration on basic skills in several particular grades.

Senator MONDALE. Do you think it would be fair to say that in the high concentration schools you may have been spending $600 above and in "B" $300 to $400?

Dr. DRACHLER. Right, but not throughout the schools. The funds were concentrated on particular grades.

Senator MONDALE. So if you were spending $750, it would be $600 more, or $1,450, approximately. And in the "B" category it wound be something like $1,050, somewhere in there?

Dr. DRACHLER. That is right, but for only certain grades.

SCORE GAINS

Senator MONDALE. And for that, in your impression, you received dramatic improvement—and these are the reading skills?

Dr. DRACHLER. I would not call it dramatic, more improvement in reading skill, and less gain in arithmetic. Allow me to distinguish between the schools.

Senator MONDALE. All right.

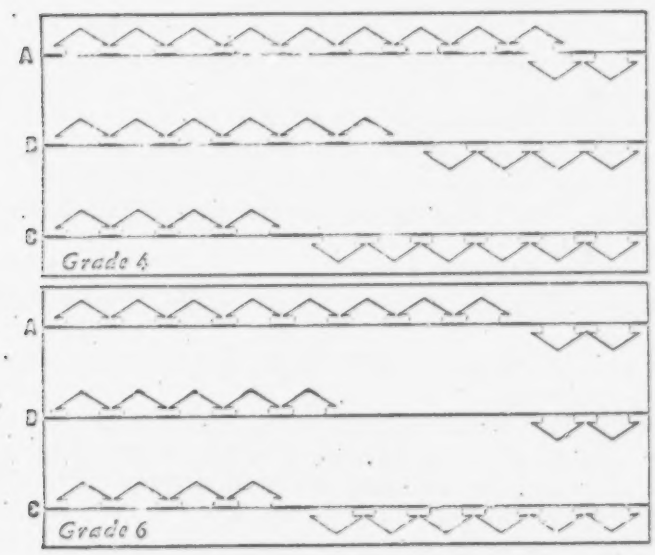
Dr. DRACHLER. Look at this transparency, which is Exhibit I. We asked outselves what does a 2-month gain in 4 years mean? Well, actually it doesn't mean much. However, if you lose 2 months during the same period, you do hear from your critics. Therefore, we asked the question: How many schools in Title I areas gained 4 months or more, or declined 4 months and the trend continued to be the same. Nine gained in the "A" category, six in the "B," and three in the "C" category.

Senator MONDALE. So it might be fair to say that your gain of 2 disguises the fact that you may have averted a loss of 4. So you may be ahead.

Dr. DRACHLER. That is right and I would like to indicate this in another transparency.

Exhibit I

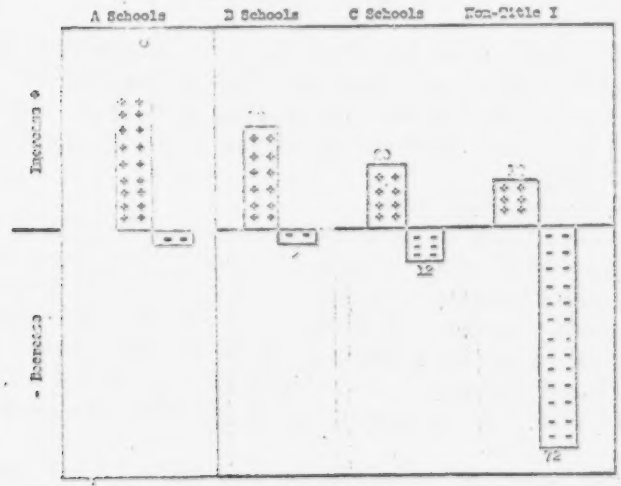
NUMBERS OF TITLE I SCHOOLS SHOWING GAIN OR LOSS OF FOUR OR MORE SCHOOLS MONTHS IN READING TEST SCORE MEANS IN TITLE I SCHOOLS RELATIVE TO CITY MEANS: 1965 to 1969



Each symbol represents one school. Black symbols indicate schools with gains; red symbols represent schools with losses.

Exhibit J

NUMBERS OF SCHOOLS, BY TITLE I PRIORITIES, WHOSE GRADE 4 PUPILS' READING TEST SCORE MEANS INCREASED (DECREASED) IN CITY STANDARD SCORE UNITS FROM 1968* to 1970#



*October 1968 Iowa Tests of Basic Skills
#January 1970 State Assessment

In the first year or two of Title I our funds were distributed among nearly 170,000 students. We were spending about $60 per child and not getting anywhere. Therefore, due to dissatisfaction we began to concentrate in the schools needing money most and, primarily, in the earlier grades. Note the next transparency. Here we compared the four categories "A," "B," "C," and non-Title I schools for the 1970 results on the State assessment test. Although for the city as a whole we showed again a low score, nevertheless, the State examination held up our thesis for the Iowa scores insofar as progress is concerned. Note that of the 48 Title I schools, five didn't do as well in 1968 but 43 did better. In the "B" category, five declined but 32 did better, and in the "C" category, 12 declined and 20 did better. But of the 84 non-Title I schools, 72 declined and only 12 went up. This, of course, reflects mobility within the city and from the city to the suburbs, as well as inadequate funding for non-Title I areas. At the 8th grade level we did not do as well since the main stress of Title I funds was on the earlier grades during the last 3 years.

Besides, as one goes up the grades the range of achievement widens.

Simply glancing at the norm for the city does not, however, tell the full story for Title I. We must separate the achievement or lack of it in the 110 Title I schools from the 95 non-Title I to see the distinction that I am trying to make. What is happening in the schools in large cities today is almost similar to the stock market. The Dow-Jones Average would be much lower if it had to depend today on some of the classical "blue chips stocks." Equally in the large cities it is not the Title I schools that are not making any gains, although some of them are not, but the fact that the *non-Title I* schools are achieving at a much lower level than they did 5 or 10 years ago. This is causing the norm to decline. I will illustrate this in the following transparency.

Senator MONDALE. But in any event, in 1970 the average 8th grader in Detroit was 1.4——

Dr. DRACHLER. Below the national norm.

Senator MONDALE. In reading and arithmetic are they 1.2 behind in the combination?

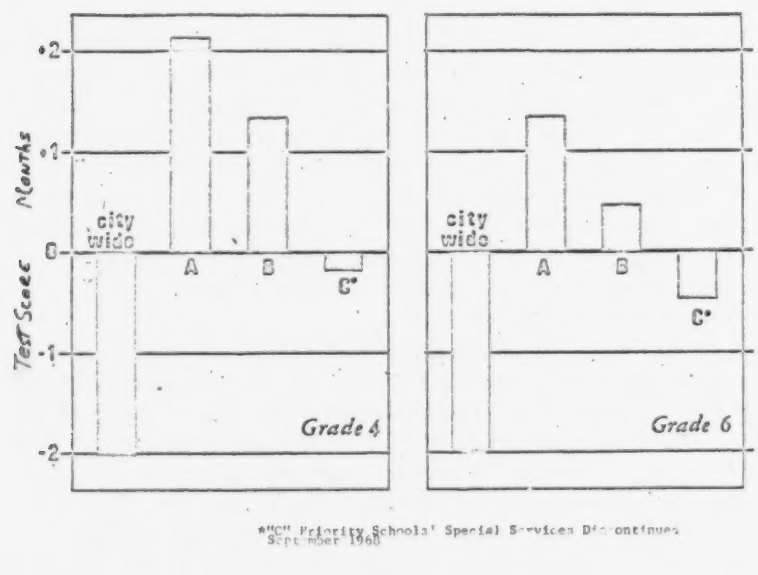
Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, the score there when combined, or the composite score as it is called by the testing officials, is slightly higher. Therefore, I separated the reading scores due to the interest that there is today in the field of reading.

Allow me to discuss this next transparency. We had 205 elementary schools in Detroit in 1967. For this evaluation we did not rely on a random sampling but included all 205 elementary schools. Ninety-five were non-Title I schools, and 110 were in Title I areas as of 1967.

Between 1966 and 1969 we dropped 2 full months on our reading scores for the city as a whole. In 1967, since we were disappointed with our results, we began to concentrate our funds on the lowest achieving schools and particularly in the lower grades, we began to retrain and reorganize some of our services and centered particularly on 35 to 45 of our schools in greatest need. We did not distribute our Title I funds as widely as we did prior to 1967. For instance, we eliminated some programs which were designed for cultural enrichment experiences. These were excellent programs, nevertheless, we felt that the emphasis should be on the basic skills.

Exhibit L

GAINS IN MEANS FOR 110 TITLE I SCHOOLS (45 "A", 35 "B", and 30 "C")
OF READING TEST SCORES RELATIVE TO CITY MEANS: 1965 to 1969



Senator MONDALE. Let me ask you this—What is the per pupil expenditure level approximately in Detroit today?

Dr. DRACHLER. About $750.

Senator MONDALE. And what was the level of spending in these Title I schools where you decided to concentrate?

Dr. DRACHLER. The level of spending in 1967 was, of course, lower than the present one. It was under $600. The additional funds in Title I areas ranged anywhere from about $60 more per child in our "C" category to $200–300 more in the schools with the very lowest achievement. In some instances expenditures per child were higher due to model city funds or special state aid in selected areas.

It should however be noted that since the majority of teachers who are at the maximum are not concentrated in inner-city schools that the local revenue spent per child are often lower and thus the additional expenditures from federal funds do not represent full equity.

Senator MONDALE. You did shift funding nevertheless?

Dr. DRACHLER. Oh, yes.

Senator MONDALE. From traditional patterns into the impact area?

Dr. DRACHLER. Correct sir.

Senator MONDALE. Substantial amounts?

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes sir, substantial amounts. For the 35 schools with the lowest achievement that we selected in 1967 we provided low class size, specialized teachers, and other services.

Senator MONDALE. Now one of the things that comes up repeatedly—and I don't think we have been able to pin it down as well as

we should—has been the degree to which these children in the hard-core ghetto schools fail. Certainly your grades indicate, basic skills indicate that they were going down badly in those areas.

Dr. DRACHLER. That is right.

Senator MONDALE. If you have data or just in terms of your opinion as a professional educator, could you describe how far behind these children are? Others have been able to say that by the 7th grade the average child in the ghetto is 2 years behind. What was the basic skill achievement level of ghetto children in Detroit?

Dr. DRACHLER. Well, in Detroit, for the city as a whole in 1970—the last reading scores——

Senator MONDALE. I've seen those, but those disguise even deeper gaps below norms in the hard-core ghetto schools.

SCORES RANGE IN GHETTO SCHOOLS

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, the mean in the individual ghetto school is definitely lower than the mean for the city as a whole. Although there are ranges of low achievement and achievement above the national norm in nearly every school. The test scores that I have presented to you, school-by-school starting with 1967, are based on the Iowa scores. You will note that the lowest mean for a school is 2.7 and the highest is 4.5.

Senator MONDALE. Is this rank order based on grade four composite reading comprehension?

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, it is based both on the composite and on the reading scores. The two are listed separately. The lowest is 2.7.

Senator MONDALE. So that would mean that by 4th grade the average student in that school was already 1.3——

Dr. DRACHLER. 1.4.

Senator MONDALE (continuing). Behind the national composition mean?

Dr. DRACHLER. That is right, I prefer to state that in that school over 50 percent of the students in the 4th grade were 1.4 below the mean, some were of course higher. The higher you go up in the grades you will find that the range between low and high increases.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have comparable data for the 6th grade?

Dr. DRACHLER. We have the data but not organized in rank order. You will note, however, that the ranking order of the Title I schools generally improved by 1969 as compared with 1967.

Senator MONDALE. Now here you have a school, Hampton School, 89 percent black, and which is at the national norm. Now, I guess you already talked about Hampton.

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, that is in the Mumford area.

Senator MONDALE. That is a middle-class black school?

Dr. DRACHLER. Right. Unfortunately, the elementary students of that school both black and white in many instances, when they graduate from Hampton leave or transfer to junior high schools that are open in other areas.

Senator MONDALE. I see we have already received this table in your earlier testimony.

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. But in any event, absent some new strategy, Title I like that, these children in the ghetto schools, by and large, are increasingly falling behind the national norm every year, is that correct?

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, that is true. I have no doubt that without Title I, the children's achievement level in these schools would have suffered. There is nothing as unequal as to treat unequals equally. Our point is that we want children who enter school not merely to have the opportunity to run the race, but to have the services that enable them to run successfully.

12TH GRADE ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL

Senator MONDALE. Right.

Now, by the 12th grade, take a youngster graduating from the 12th grade who has had nothing but ghetto school experience—on the average, at what basic skill level will he be testing out at when he gets his high school diploma?

Dr. DRACHLER. I have that data here. There is one aspect——

Senator MONDALE. Would you submit that for the record?*

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Tell us roughly what that would be.

Dr. DRACHLER. It's difficult to compare grade levels for the high school with that of the Iowa test and the 12th grade, sir, is not a safe grade to evaluate since the dropouts are no longer there and we generally score better in the 12th grade of the high school than we do in the 10th.

Senator MONDALE. I see.

Dr. DRACHLER. The 10th grade would be a more equitable grade to compare a ghetto school with a nonghetto school.

Senator MONDALE. Take the 10th and 12th grade.

Dr. DRACHLER. In the 12th grade you will note the comparison is closer, about 10 points apart between the highest achieving and the average ghetto high school.

Senator MONDALE. Because the losers have already gone?

Dr. DRACHLER. That is right. And remember the losers are generally not in the suburbs. That is why the national norm looks different. In the 10th grade there is approximately a 16 point difference among the high schools

Senator MONDALE. By 10 points, do you mean 10 months?

Dr. DRACHLER. It is difficult to equate a point with a month. However, my estimate is that it is approximately 1.6 years at the 10th grade level and approximately 1 year at the 12th.

Senator MONDALE. All right. Do you have data on that?

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, sir.

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*See Part 19C, Appendix 3.

EXHIBIT M-1.—SCHOOL MEANS ON READING, MATHEMATICS, AND SCIENCE TEST SCORES ON SEQUENTIAL TEST OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS, GRADE 10, JUNE 1968 AND JUNE 1969

School	Test score means in converted score units								
	Reading			Mathematics			Science		
	1968	1969	Change	1968	1969	Change	1968	1969	Change
Cass	291	289	−2	268	267	−1	273	273	0
Central	268	269	+1	254	251	−3	262	262	0
Chadsey	275	270	−5	259	257	−2	265	264	−1
Cody	282	276	−6	267	263	−4	272	268	−4
Cooley	279	274	−5	264	261	−3	268	265	−3
Denby	282	283	+1	266	268	+2	271	270	−1
Finney	278	272	−6	262	259	−3	267	266	−1
Ford	286	285	−1	267	268	+1	273	270	−3
Kettering	270	263	−7	255	255	0	263	260	−3
King	265	262	−3	254	249	−5	261	258	−3
Mackenzie	274	267	−7	257	254	−3	265	262	−3
Mumford	280	275	−5	262	257	−5	268	264	−4
Murray-Wright	270	265	−5	255	253	−2	262	260	−2
Northeastern	266	265	−1	253	250	−3	261	258	−3
Northern	268	265	−3	254	254	0	261	261	0
Northwestern	268	268	0	255	254	−1	262	261	−1
Osborn	280	280	0	265	265	0	269	269	0
Pershing	278	274	−4	262	258	−4	268	265	−3
Redford	285	285	0	269	268	−1	273	273	0
Southeastern	265	268	+3	256	255	−1	261	262	+1
Southwestern	269	264	−5	256	254	−2	263	261	−2
Western	269	267	−2	256	255	−1	264	261	−3
City	277	275	−2	261	260	−1	267	268	−1
National mean	284			268			275		
Total number of schools			22			22			22
Number of schools improved, 68 to 69			3			2			1
Number of schools declined, 68 to 69			16			17			16
Number of schools unchanged, 68 to 69			3			3			5
Total change in units, 68 to 69			−62			−41			−40

EXHIBIT M-2.—SCHOOL MEANS ON READING, MATHEMATICS, AND SCIENCE TEST SCORES ON SEQUENTIAL TEST OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS, GRADE 12, JUNE 1968 AND JUNE 1969

School	Test score means in converted score units								
	Reading			Mathematics			Science		
	1968	1969	Change	1968	1969	Change	1968	1969	Change
Cass	303	302	−1	283	281	−2	286	285	−1
Central	283	285	+2	262	260	−2	272	272	0
Chadsey	285	281	−4	267	264	−3	273	271	−2
Cody	290	289	−1	274	273	−1	277	276	−1
Cooley	296	292	−2	277	271	−6	281	277	−4
Denby	295	293	−2	276	275	−1	280	278	−2
Finney	294	291	−3	274	271	−3	278	277	−1
Ford	299	296	−3	280	277	−3	277	276	−1
Kettering	278	273	−5	259	259	0	267	267	0
King	274	278	+4	257	259	+2	268	269	+1
Mackenzie	286	281	−5	267	263	−4	274	271	−3
Mumford	290	290	0	269	268	−1	276	275	−1
Murray-Wright	282	277	−5	261	259	−2	270	269	−1
Northeastern	278	274	−4	258	254	−4	268	265	−3
Northern	277	265	−12	255	256	+1	268	266	−2
Northwestern	----	280	-----	----	259	----	----	268	----
Osborn	293	291	−2	275	273	−2	268	267	−1
Pershing	286	285	−1	269	266	−3	274	272	−2
Redford	298	296	−2	279	278	−1	282	282	0
Southeastern	275	281	+6	260	262	+2	269	269	0
Southwestern	273	272	−1	261	263	+2	269	268	−1
Western	282	282	0	263	262	−1	272	272	0
City	290	289	−1	271	270	−1	277	276	−1
National mean	294	----	-----	276	----	----	281	----	----
Total Number of schools, 68 to 69			21			21			21
Number of schools improved, 68 to 69			3			4			1
Number of schools declined, 68 to 69			16			16			15
Number of schools unchanged, 68 to 69			2			1			5
Total change in units, 68 to 69			−43			−32			−25

69-828 O—72—pt. 19B——7

Senator MONDALE. What about the dropout rate——

Dr. DRACHLER. After having made the comparison among the high schools, let me add that it is not exactly a fair appraisal of the ghetto school. The reason for it is that within ghetto high schools a larger number of students transfer to higher achieving high schools in Detroit, either open high schools or to Cass Technical High School, where only students with a C average or higher can apply. Therefore, looking at the grades of the ghetto high school doesn't quite give the exact picture of that community since the cream of the student body generally enrolls in other schools. To illustrate one high school, all black, in the innercity, Northwestern High School, has more students enrolled at Cass High School than the four white high schools together. This has to be taken into consideration.

Senator MONDALE. Oh, the dropout and truancy rate.

Dr. DRACHLER. Our dropout rate is still high, although the percentage of 17 year olds in high school is increasing each year. Our dropout rate for one of our high schools, Northeastern, is between 40 and 50 percent. We have recently received a grant from the Office of Education and have started a program in the junior high schools feeding into Eastern to spot the potential dropouts and help them to succeed in school.

One of our major concerns in regard to dropouts is the suitability of the high school program. We have in Detroit approximately 10,000 high school graduates a year. Of these, 40 percent apply to colleges and universities. Another 20 percent may be classified as students who have taken some world of work program which enables them to obtain a job and often to continue their education at a community college or through some other program. My concern is about the 40 percent who obtain a diploma which has not really had any sound direction or content that is meaningful for these students. We must develop post high school oriented programs for these students and this would undoubtedly also decrease the dropout rate.

Senator MONDALE. So these are youngsters sitting in the class——

Dr. DRACHLER. Taking the easiest courses.

Senator MONDALE. They know they are not going to college; they are not in a vocationally related course that will perhaps produce a job at earnings; and they know they are wasting time.

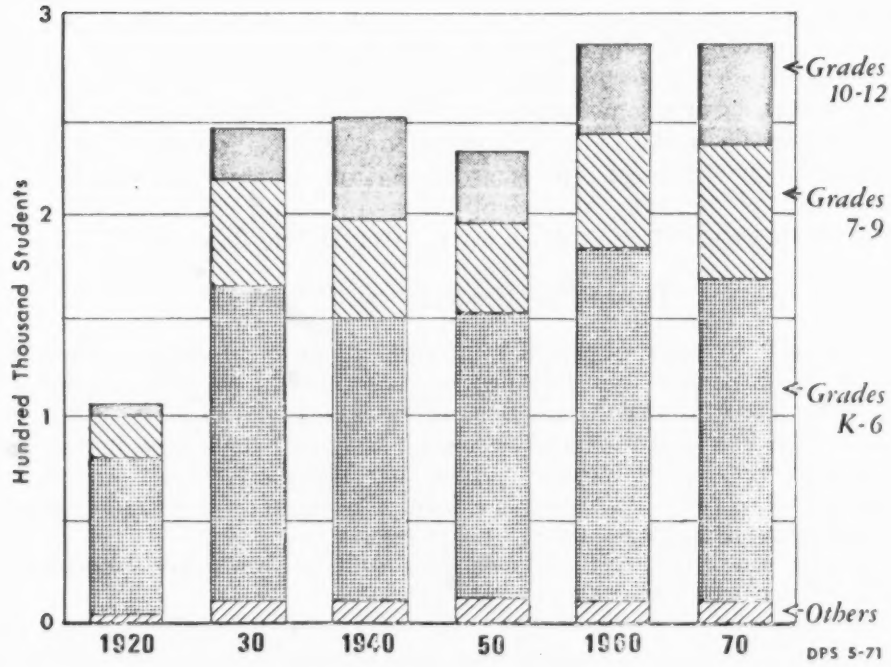
Dr. DRACHLER. Unfortunately, I share this conclusion. Many of the brighter students become bored and probably see no reason for staying.

I say this despite the tremendous growth of the public high school both nationally and in Detroit during the past 50 years. Note on this next transparency the growth or revolution that has taken place in secondary education in this country during the past 50 years.

Senator MONDALE. What year was that?

Exhibit N

Enrollment by Grades - Detroit Public Schools 1920-1970



DIPLOMA A MUST

Dr. DRACHLER. We're comparing, on this transparency, the growth between 1920 and 1970. The high school during these years has increased nearly 16 fold. The problem, however, is that a youngster in 1920 did not need a high school diploma to obtain a job. Today, a diploma is almost a union card for job entry, let alone meaningful occupation.

In 1920, 20 percent of 17 years olds were in school.

Senator MONDALE. What is the percentage now?

Dr. DRACHLER. About 78 percent.

Senator MONDALE. Say that again?

Dr. DRACHLER. In 1920, 20 perecnt of 17 year olds were in school. Today, about 78 percent to 80 percent nationally, are in school.

Senator MONDALE. So it's three or four times greater.

Dr. DRACHLER. That is right. Let me state it in an even more striking manner. Of the 700,000 men and women who graduated at a college or university during the past year, three-fourths of their parents, who sat at the graduation exercises, did not receive a college diploma. It will take some time for us to appreciate and recognize the tremendous revolution that has taken place in this country in secondary and higher education, particularly after World War II.

Senator MONDALE. That is right. I think it is true to say that for all gnashing of teeth and frustrations in fact, part of this frustration stems from the new policy of looking at our problem and the dropouts; because, in the past, we did not pay any attention to them at all.

Dr. DRACHLER. I agree. Since World War II in the 1940s three factors have clearly influenced this suddent growth. The GI Bill of Rights offered opportunities for many to continue with their education, the technological revolution made new demands upon our educational system, and the civil rights revolution brought hopes to many who formerly never thought of continuing their children's education. Thus we raised the aspirations of millions of our citizens but did not create the institutions necessary to help realize these aspirations. And due to this disparity between aspirations and achievement, we have the current criticism of American education. Despite our 150 years of free public elementary and secondary education, the American high school really did not go public until after World War II.

TRUANCY—RELATES TO POVERTY

In regard to your question on truancy, let me hasten to say that nearly 40 percent of our truancy cases should be labelled poverty. A youngster is often absent, not because he wishes to skip school but simply because he does not have shoes, glasses, or because he has to stay home and mind a younger child so that the mother can go out and work, shop, or even apply for welfare. The truancy condition today is far different than it was 50 or 75 years ago.

Senator MONDALE. What percentage of the high school students in your city are missing on an average day?

Dr. DRACHLER. If you look at Region 1 which has the highest percentage of Title I funds model city help due to the poverty conditions, you will note that attendance is approximately 80 percent for that region ranging from 69 percent in one high school to 86 percent in another.

Senator MONDALE. So some have 30 percent missing, some have half of that.

Dr. DRACHLER. That is right. If you look at Region 4 in the northwest area, a middle-class region, the range is from 76 to 90 percent. Another factor that often contributes to absenteeism is the factor of student unrest. During such periods attendance generally drops.

Senator MONDALE. I have to go and vote. But would you—there is an article here by Mr. Grant in the Detroit Free Press, September 16, on the neighborhood educational effort. I will put that in the record.*

Dr. DRACHLER. I was informed about this article and I have brought to insert in the record an evaluation made by the American Institute of Research. In these four schools we invested a great deal of effort and I believe that the independent investigation bears out the value of this investment.

Senator MONDALE. The story indicates achievement level is up sharply; would you say that is an accurate statement?

Dr. DRACHLER. Sharply is too optimistic a term.

Senator MONDALE. What adjective would you use?

Dr. DRACHLER. Considerably.

Senator MONDALE. All right, I will be right back.

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*See Part 19C, Appendix 3.

Dr. DRACHLER. As I look at some of the very high scores in one or two schools, I begin to wonder whether the ghetto isn't acquiring some middle-class habits and teachers train students for exams.

Senator MONDALE. You are getting smart.

Dr. DRACHLER. Right.

[Recess]

Senator MONDALE. All right. So it is your professional judgment there is a relationship between adequacy of funding, assuming some decent administration and achievement.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MONEY AND ACHIEVEMENT

Do you think it is an oversimplification to say that: Before new moneys are injected into our school system we should know what to do with them; and, that there is a relationship between money and achievement?

Dr. DRACHLER. There is a relationship between adequate funds in accordance with childrens' needs and achievement. I believe the data that I have presented to you bears this out. I also think that no one has better data on this than the Federal Government. Here is an exhibit of the relationship of dollars to success in achievement on the educational test given by the army for our draft.

It is very clear from the data on failures on the educational tests given by the army that the failure is less in those States where the State average for education is higher. I do believe that there is a point of diminishing returns insofar as additional funds are concerned and that there ought to be some flexibility within the concept of categorical funding to allow school systems to shift funding when it reaches a certain level to the next group of schools which are in need of additional services.

We often have a situation where a given school or schools are eligible for Title I funds, model city funds, and special funds that various States offer for compensatory programs. Where these three fall into a single school or group of schools and there are no funds for the group just below but is in need of some additional services—then I feel that we are not using our funds as wisely as we could. You will recall that our "C" schools, the group from which we removed Title I funds in 1968 due to the cutback, suffered most as a result of diminishing services. Yet within that group we have unusual potential for making gains.

STATUS OF DESEGREGATION

Senator MONDALE. When you were here last year, you testified about your effort to bring about some desegregation within the school systems of Detroit. I wonder if you might bring us up to date on what happened on that effort; and, why you undertook the effort—whether for educational, or legal reasons, or both—and what you think the status of that situation is now.

Dr. DRACHLER. In my statement to you in May 1970, I indicated that I believe in the process of decentralization, and that I also believed that integration was desirable in a pluralistic school district for greater educational achievement. The educational research which I respect generally supports this thesis.

As you know, I was in the minority in our city in regard to this recommendation of April 7, 1970, although the proposal was approved to integrate 12 high schools in a 4-to-2 vote of the Board of Education. Possibly we would have had a chance to convince the community of the desirability for this move if the State legislature would not have interfered in this matter. Citizens were opposed and aroused. But when their anger settled down and we made an effort to sit down and reason with them about our proposal, some legislator would announce or introduce a new bill that would defeat our efforts and our plans for discussions were defeated. As you know, the State finally passed a bill which, although it was later declared unconstitutional by a Federal court in Cincinnati, nevertheless stopped us from carrying out the integration plan. Certainly we may have made some errors in our strategy for implementing the plan. But the myth of busing, the rumors, vicious literature that was spread in the community would have been a challenge to the best public relations firm in the Nation.

I should point out that, in the elections that followed for Board of Education members, Detroit witnessed a very significant fact. First, the apathy of the community. Only 23 percent of the registered voters came to the polls on the recall vote, thus the 4 board members who voted for the integration plan were actually recalled by only 14 percent of the registered voters. Second, every black district in the city of Detroit voted against the recall.

Senator MONDALE. By large margins?

Dr. DRACHLER. No, although the trend indicating opposition to the recall was very obvious in the black community. The crux of the small black vote is a historic one. It is most depressing because the voting machines are complicated and many citizens—poor black and white who come from rural areas where paper ballots are used, or where, in some instances, they never had an opportunity to vote—often walk into the voting booth and out and end up casting a blank vote. In some areas of the city as many as 50 out of every 100 voters who enter a voting booth do not record their vote and this happens particularly in the poorer areas of our city. I think it is correct to say on the other hand that the white community generally opposed the integration plan and voted for the recall.

After the recall some black, I should call them separatists for lack of a better term, joined the recall group and put up a slate of candidates for the new board. This board was to be elected on a regional basis as well as on a city-wide basis. Although few blacks were elected to boards in general throughout the city, nevertheless, it is important to note that the majority of black citizens voted for blacks who were for integration and against the recall. On the other hand, in the white community, citizens did vote for white candidates who opposed the integration plan. I might add that among the black separatists there was at least one very well-known candidate, the Reverend Cleague, and he was not elected in an almost totally black community.

The newly elected board did not take any action to implement the April 7th plan. Instead it proposed the so-called "Magnet" and "middle-School" plan. This is based on voluntary enrollment. In the meantime the NAACP suit against the board and the State continued and, as you know, Federal Judge Roth recently issued an opinion

which found de jure segregation in Detroit. In his opinion the Judge placed the responsibility for this situation on various State and city agencies: FHA practices in housing, the legislature's action, the State Board of Education for its lack of action, as well as past practices of the Board of Education.

EXHIBIT 0-1—DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS—MILLAGE VOTE, NOV. 8, 1966

[In percent]

High school constellation	Votes cast	Yes votes	Blank votes
Up to 25 percent Negro:			
Cody	65.2	41.6	14.1
Denby	65.8	36.4	13.6
Finney	62.6	46.0	16.4
Ford	65.4	50.6	11.7
Osborn	66.1	34.6	15.5
Redford	63.3	50.6	11.1
25 to 75 percent Negro:			
Chadsey	65.5	46.4	30.3
Cooley	64.8	48.6	13.7
Mackenzie	60.7	55.6	23.0
Murray-Wright	49.4	72.5	41.7
Pershing	66.9	17.5	28.0
Southeastern	56.1	56.3	32.8
Southwestern	60.5	56.9	33.6
Western	57.3	56.1	38.5
75 percent Negro and over:			
Central	59.9	79.3	37.7
Kettering	60.1	55.9	35.8
King	59.7	74.3	41.8
Mumford	64.2	66.5	24.3
Northeastern	58.3	62.8	49.5
Northern	58.5	80.6	46.0
Northwestern	60.3	80.0	42.0
Total	61.9	54.0	26.6

EXHIBIT 0-2—DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS—MILLAGE VOTE, NOV. 5, 1968

[In percent]

High school constellation	Votes cast	Yes votes	Blank votes
Up to 25 percent Negro:			
Cody	80.5	23.1	14.6
Denby	82.3	21.6	14.6
Ford	80.5	29.8	11.4
Redford	80.2	30.0	11.3
25 to 75 percent Negro:			
Chadsey	81.6	32.1	35.4
Cooley	79.3	32.3	16.8
Finney	80.0	31.3	27.3
Murray-Wright	68.9	63.2	52.3
Osborn	82.2	21.0	21.8
Pershing	81.3	31.5	30.5
Southeastern	72.2	42.8	38.4
Southwestern	78.9	38.1	39.5
Western	76.0	40.7	46.1
75 percent Negro and over:			
Central	78.9	66.0	47.4
Kettering	77.7	42.8	45.6
King	77.6	63.7	48.1
Mackenzie	76.9	41.9	32.4
Mumford	78.3	50.3	32.0
Northeastern	75.5	52.2	56.8
Northern	76.2	67.8	54.2
Northwestern	80.6	66.0	55.0
Total	78.8	37.5	32.3

Millage Election

As I listen to citizens and follow the press I am concerned that as a people we have not yet faced up to the moral, legal, and educational issues that face our Nation. The exhibit before you is an indication of the complexity involved in educational financing and the issue of integration. This transparency reflects our effort in 1968 to place on the ballot a request for an increase in taxes for school support. It was a presidential election year and, therefore, the turnout was very large. This particular chart reflects only the school issue. The first transparency indicates the percentage of registered voters who turned out. You will note that it was fairly good throughout the city. It is true that people in the inner city often do not register but nevertheless, of those who were registered, a high percentage did come to the elections. On the second table you see the percentage of those who voted "yes" to raise taxes. You will note that in those high school constellation areas where achievement was high in the schools, the vast majority voted "no" on the issue to increase taxes. But in the areas in the inner city, the ghetto, where achievement is low they voted overwhelmingly "yes" to support the tax increase. This pattern has existed for a number of years and in several elections. The communities where achievement is high object to more taxes—for a variety of reasons, some of the objections contain racial overtones. And in the poor, black areas, although

they have and express many dissatisfactions with the schools, they still vote "yes" because they regard schools as the only hope available for their children to enter the mainstream of American life.

The tragedy of the vote however lies in the powerlessness of the poor to exercise their vote properly. You will note that in the high school areas where the school millage proposal was voted down a very small number of blank votes were cast. For instance, in the area where 21 percent of the citizens voted "yes" to increase school taxes, 14 out of 100 who entered the booth did not vote on the school issue. But in the areas where we had over 60 percent of the voters saying "yes" to increasing school taxes, nearly 50 percent of the voters who walked into that booth neglected to vote on the school issue. The voting machine is complex and the inexperienced voter often neglects to cast his vote. Thus, out of some 700,000 voters who came to the polls in the 1968 election, there were about 170,000 blank votes and most of them in the inner city. This phenomenon also occurred on a proposed housing ordinance which was unanimously opposed by the black community but the blank vote in that election still amounted to nearly 150,000 blank votes.

To test this thesis the Board of Education once held a special election for which it paid nearly $0.25 million and only one issue was on the ballot and that was the school issue. In other words if an individual did not press the "yes" or "no" button he could not pull the lever that opened the curtain to enable him to leave. The blank vote in that election dropped down to 1,400.

Senator MONDALE. Did the millage proposal get approved?

Dr. DRACHLER. Oh yes. It did in that instance. But in all fairness it was not an increase but an effort to renew the present millage and not asking for additional funds.

I believe that it is entirely unrealistic for governmental services that exist today to ask citizens in a large city with conflicting values to enter the voting booth and voluntarily and in the privacy of the voting booth to raise their individual taxes. Even in our churches which are voluntary when we pass the collection envelopes we code the envelopes to make sure that everyone does his share. Yet when it comes to schools we ask citizens who do not have children in school or those who send their children to private schools, as well as senior citizens who live on limited incomes to increase their tax rate voluntarily. I don't believe that the Federal Government, with all the talent and access that it has to the national media, would ever dare to put the income tax up for a vote by the people—yet we expect schools to survive on that type of unrealistic funding.

TAX EFFORT

Senator MONDALE. What is the overall tax effort?

Dr. DRACHLER. In Detroit?

Senator MONDALE. As compared with other communities?

Dr. DRACHLER. It changes from year to year as I indicated in the earlier figures. Detroit has approximately 21 mills for school operation. But the number of mills doesn't tell the entire story. It depends on the amount of dollars that each mill brings which is of course dependent on the assessed valuation behind each youngster in a given

community. Due to the declining assessment of property in large cities such as the removal of homes, the building of expressways, obsolescence, and so forth, a mill in 1970 brings in about $700,000 less in Detroit than it did 10 years ago in 1960.

Senator MONDALE. What does a mill raise?

Dr. DRACHLER. One mill brings in about $5 million in Detroit.

Senator MONDALE. What did it raise?

Dr. DRACHLER. Approximately $5.7 million in 1960.

Senator MONDALE. Considering the devaluation and the deterioration in the value base, how does that 21-mill effort compare to surrounding communities?

Dr. DRACHLER. It is about at the midpoint just slightly less. But the issue is the overburden in the large city insofar as taxes are concerned. The smaller communities do not have the burden of taxes that exist in a large central city. Thus, whereas in the city the school tax may represent 35 to 40 percent of the total tax burden that the community has, in a smaller community the school taxes may reflect 70 to 80 percent of their total revenue.

Senator MONDALE. So that it ought to be looked at in terms of the total tax effort.

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes. For instance, the city of Detroit sir has, in addition to its regular millage, an income tax of 2 percent. One percent in income tax is equal to approximately 8 mills.

Senator MONDALE. So that 2 percent is 16 mills.

DISTRICT REAPS NO BENEFIT

Dr. DRACHLER. That is right and because the school district is fiscally independent, it doesn't benefit from that city tax. In fairness to the city it just doesn't have the means to support its own great financial problems let alone to provide a tax-sharing plan with the schools.

Senator MONDALE. Let me return, if I might, to integration.

You are a member of that select body of superintendents who have made an effort in the central city school systems. There is an increasing fraternity of you that are now doing other things.

Looking back on your experience in Detroit, what lesson do you draw, how would you do it differently, and, would you reconsider the whole integration effort and pursue a compensatory education course rather than what you proposed or what you had hoped to achieve? These are difficult judgmental questions, and yet, I think they are central to this whole issue.

Dr. DRACHLER. I am obviously very strongly committed to public education. And public education to me suggests an integrated student body along religious, socioeconomic, as well as racial lines. I think this is what makes this country different and this is what has contributed to the fact that 80 percent of our students are in high school, that is, the 17 year olds, as compared with modern European countries that only have 20 to 30 percent of their 17 year olds in school.

When I was in England this past summer they were proud of the fact that 50 percent of their 14 to 17 year olds were in school. Their economy and technology is, of course, different than ours.

Insofar as our strategy for bringing about integration I am certain that we did not plan our moves as carefully as it could have been done.

But I doubt whether this would have made a difference at this particular point in the history of our city.

The city of Pontiac, a neighbor of Detroit, proceeded entirely in a different manner than did the Detroit Board of Education and yet we have read about the upheavals that exist in that community. One thing that we did learn is that during an election year when State legislators and others are up for office, it is very dangerous to innovate any measure which arouses emotions such as the issue of integration does. We made our decision on April 7 and by April 9 the House and the State legislature passed a bill to prevent integration, and by Friday of that week the State Senate passed a bill recalling decentralization entirely. The pressures upon the legislators were great and the opportunities for a legislator to sieze upon these volatile issues were very difficult to resist.

On the other hand, I simply cannot conceive that this Nation can survive and remain two separate peoples. I cannot conceive that the young people of this Nation—the veterans who are returning from service overseas, and the growing numbers of men and women who are receiving higher education—will be willing to settle for a segregated society. As has been pointed out there is not merely a generation gap in this Nation but there is also developing a strong intellectual gap among our people.

Senator MONDALE. So you tried, your effort was nullified; and, there is obviously deep resentments that was stirred up as part of that dispute. Still, 20,000 students didn't go to school in the Detroit suburbs this morning in protest to the court's suggestion that they might metropolitanize the busing of school children.

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes, I heard of that.

Senator MONDALE. We have read about the Pontiac problems and so on, but when you look at this enormous resistance and what I perceive to be a growing community control movement in the black community—perhaps not dominant, but growing as a trend—where does this take you?

ONE OUT OF THREE BUSED

Dr. DRACHLER. In the State of Michigan one out of every three children that attends school, public school that is, gets there by bus today. Busing is not new. Therefore it seems to me that we have to look at the reasons why people don't want to bus where this is necessary. And is it desirable that we disregard the issue of busing when it pertains to race? As you know the Detroit plan of April 7 did not have a busing proposal in it. As a matter of fact, nearly 50 percent of the youngsters in our high schools come to school either by bus or by private car.

You mentioned the black community and the issue of community control. Separatism and community control are obviously two separate issues. I believe that a larger number seek community control since to them it means that as parents they will be equal partners in decision making that affect the welfare of their children. On the other hand, separatism is, in my opinion, representative of only a very small group in the black community. Some 10,000 to 15,000 black students are now enrolled in open schools that are integrated on a purely

voluntary basis. They do so only because they believe that their children will receive a better education there. They do this under great difficulties. We do not pay for the transportation of their children. They take them to school in carpools or pay for their bus transportation there. I believe that some individuals over-stress the issue of separatism in order to avoid facing up to the greater issue of integration. I might add that the emotions that exist on this issue are not merely racial ones but also along socio-economic patterns. Blacks in Detroit did not speak out strongly for separatism until they witnessed white racism rejecting integration. In many instances separatism was a reflection of self respect and dignity combined with anger in response to white reactions to integration. To back away from this issue, in my opinion creates only graver and more serious problems for coming generations to face.

Historically, when as a Nation we were confronted with grave issues, the wide and open frontier resolved these problems for us. We picked ourselves up and moved to vacant territories in our land. Now the frontier is gone. The Nation is no longer a predominantly agricultural country as it was 30 or 50 years ago. Nearly 70 percent of Americans live in about 200 standard metropolitan areas. I believe that no central metropolitan area can prosper or survive if the central city is allowed to deteriorate or decay. I also believe that America's democratic values survive more effectively through interrelationships built between the central city and the metropolitan suburbs that surround it. They are interdependent and their future rests upon understanding and cooperation. Segregated schools will not achieve this goal.

Senator MONDALE. In Detroit you have a city-wide school district elected board?

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Apparently you have community boards, is that right?

Dr. DRACHLER. Eight regional boards.

Senator MONDALE. They work out of one high school or what?

Dr. DRACHLER. No sir, the districts were established by a commission appointed by the governor and they have approximately two or three high school constellations.

Senator MONDALE. Did you get much voter participation in the election of these boards?

Dr. DRACHLER. Not very much but more than we did in the primary. It is uncertain of course whether the larger vote was due to the gubernatorial election that occurred at the same time.

Senator MONDALE. Held as part of the general election?

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. What powers does that regional board have? Do they have budget powers?

BOARD ASSIGNS GUIDELINES

Dr. DRACHLER. We have developed guidelines which distinguish regional and central board powers. The regional boards are not, of course, contented with these guidelines. They obviously want greater control. Nevertheless, the board has now established a formula for the

distribution of funds and each regional board has power to use these funds within their region.

Senator MONDALE. Did the Federal Government participate at all in the integration lawsuit that resulted from the court order?

Dr. DRACHLER. No. Commissioner Allen did send a representative to Detroit after April 7 and then issued a public statement supporting the position taken by the majority of the board.

Senator MONDALE. The Justice Department didn't intervene or assist in any way?

Dr. DRACHLER. No sir.

Senator MONDALE. How long have you worked in the Detroit school system?

Dr. DRACHLER. Thirty-five years.

Senator MONDALE. You started as a teacher?

Dr. DRACHLER. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Then what progression?

Dr. DRACHLER. I was a critic teacher, an assistant principal, principal, director of research for the Citizens Committees headed by Mr. Romney and Judge Kaufman, and others during the past 13 years, then I became assistant superintendent in charge of community relations, and in 1966, superintendent.

Senator MONDALE. How long have you been superintendent?

Dr. DRACHLER. Five years.

Senator MONDALE. That is some sort of record for a central city isn't it?

Dr. DRACHLER. Perhaps, but I can't claim any credit for it. During the period of my superintendency I went in for a physical checkup to our family doctor one day, he took my blood pressure and evidently found it close to normal. He shook his head and said: "I don't think you understand the problems that confront you." He was probably right.

Senator MONDALE. We have held you here for nearly 3 hours.

Dr. DRACHLER. I now reside in Washington and if your staff wishes any further information, I will be happy to try to supply it.

Senator MONDALE. One question for the record, if you have time, send a letter to us indicating what role you think the Federal Government ought to play in trying to deal with the problems of the central city.

You might include the integration issue, but also the financial issue: What level of funding, how it should be conditioned.

Dr. DRACHLER. If I may have time, I will do that.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

We stand in recess until October 5.

(Whereupon, at 12:45 p.m., the Select Committee was recessed to reconvene at 10 a.m., room 1114, New Senate Office Building, on Tuesday, October 5, 1971.)

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN MICHIGAN

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1971

U.S. SENATE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
Washington, D.C.

The Select Committee met at 10 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 1114, of the New Senate Office Building, the Honorable Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Mondale and Hart.

Staff members present: William C. Smith, staff director and general counsel; Donn Mitchell, professional staff; and Leonard Strickman, minority counsel.

Senator MONDALE. The committee will come to order.

This morning we have two panels. One is a panel from Benton Harbor, St. Joseph, and Covert; the second is the panel on rural education.

I would ask panelists from the first group to come forward. This panel consists of Mr. Raymond Sreboth, Superintendent for Benton Harbor School District; Mr. Richard Ziehmer, Superintendent of St. Joseph Public Schools, St. Joseph, Michigan; Dr. Lewis Wood, Superintendent of Covert Public Schools, and Mr. Alfred Hawkins, Principal of Covert Elementary School, Covert, Michigan.

We are very pleased to have you with us this morning.

Senator Hart will be with us on and off. He has hearings right around the corner on two judicial nominees.

Mr. Sreboth, if you would please begin.

STATEMENT OF RAYMOND SREBOTH, SUPERINTENDENT, BENTON HARBOR AREA SCHOOLS, BENTON HARBOR, MICH.

Mr. SREBOTH. Honorable members of the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, this is a report concerning the Benton Harbor Area Schools, Berrien County, Michigan. I am Raymond M. Sreboth, superintendent of this consolidated district formed by a vote of the people on July 17, 1965. I was appointed superintendent on September 11, 1971. I am the third superintendent of this district since consolidation and we had one acting superintendent for a 6-month period in 1968.

Prior to my present position, I served as Assistant Superintendent for Business Affairs in the Benton Harbor Area Schools for 6 years and, in that same capacity, for 3 years in the former school district of the city of Benton Harbor—one of the 16 districts involved in the consolidation vote. I am, in effect, in my 10th consecutive year in some

school administrative capacity in the Benton Harbor area and in my 23d year of school administration. Before coming to Benton Harbor I served 14 years in the Covert Public Schools—1 year as a teacher, 7 years as principal, and 6 years as superintendent.

The present Benton Harbor Area School District came about as a result of the merger of 16 school districts, all of which had used the services of the Benton Harbor High School located within Benton Harbor, a city which had, in 1960, a population of 19,136 persons. Possible school merger studies had been made starting in the 1950's, but never came to a vote. A referendum to merge 12 districts failed in 1964; and, following that, several of the boards of education decided to engage the services of the University of Michigan's Bureau of School Services as consultants to aid in formulating a new merger plan. I might add that I served as recording secretary for that project—which took nearly a year to complete. Originally, some 22 districts were included for study purposes. All of these were districts who sent their high school pupils to the "city" high school at one time or another.

The "City" School District

The aforementioned "city" district, which contained about one-third of the 12,000 or so pupils involved and about 43 percent of the taxable property—State equalized valuation—for almost 95 years, had been operating the high school and accepting tuition students from the so-called sending districts. These sending districts were of varying size, racial make-up and wealth. They ranged from very small primary school districts, operating two-room schools in very definite rural areas with low property valuations, to those districts operating grades kindergarten through nine in quite modern facilities in typical suburban white middle-class settings. Some were districts with great wealth in comparison to the average. While some had very stable populations made up of the descendants of conservative settlers who came from central Europe in the 1850's; other areas, particularly those near the city, were populated by black people who had migrated north during World War II to work in industry, or southern whites who had come either as migrant farmworkers or seeking other kinds of employment.

The taxable wealth behind each child in these sending districts—we call this State equalized valuation per child in Michigan—ranged from a low of about $2,900 per child in the Bard District, which was almost totally black, to $40,000 per child in the North Shore District which was almost totally white. The quality of the program and facilities in these districts varied as you would expect, based upon the ability of the tax base to support education.

Many people felt that there was need for equalization of educational opportunities in the Benton Harbor area, and they worked diligently to make the consolidation vote a success. Some areas were feeling the economic pinch from having to vote extra taxes to pay for rising tuition costs—as State aid for tuition was being reduced for support of secondary tuition.

The State, through legislation, was moving toward the consolidation of smaller school districts. The high school enrollment was beyond a comfortable capacity for the building, and the city people could not

afford to bond themselves in order to construct additional facilities to accommodate tuition pupils. It was very apparent that there was a need for sharing of resources and the reduction of inequities and for sharing in the management and control of the high school.

Senator MONDALE. Were you having any flight to private schools by the wealthy?

Mr. SREBOTH. No, sir. It would be my opinion there were few children of wealthy parents who were traditionally in private schools.

Senator MONDALE. Did they continue to send their children from the wealthy, privileged white area into the "city" high school?

Mr. SREBOTH. Yes, sir.

Some of the school buildings in the area were in extreme need of repair. Those with low per pupil valuations had serious overcrowding in some classrooms. The Bard School, previously cited, for example, had as many as 45 to 50 elementary children per classroom and spent less than $1 per child per year on instructional supplies for their use.

Voter approval of the merger plans came on June 17, 1965, via a vote of 3,922 to 1,546, with only one constituent area voting against consolidation.

Senator MONDALE. What area was that?

Mr. SREBOTH. That was the Sodus area; a rural area.

Senator MONDALE. It wasn't one of the high-value areas?

Mr. SREBOTH. No, sir.

NEW CORPORATION CREATED

All of the educational assets and liabilities of the area thus were pooled and a new corporation was created overnight.

The superintendent of the "city" schools was appointed superintendent of the new district. Other administrative posts generally were filled by the superintendents and principals of the constituent districts if they chose to remain in the new district.

In the first year of operation of the consolidated district the racial makeup of the student body was 62.7 white and 37.7 black.

Within 6 months of consolidation, the Eaman District, an all-white K–8 district, voted to annex to the consolidated unit. In 1967, the Martindale District, which was contiguous, became a disorganized district and was attached. As a result of this we can then state that, for a time, the consolidated district was made up of 18 of the 22 districts which were included in the original consolidation study.

The consolidated district launched a broad-based building planning study committee in 1966. This group worked for over 1 year and came up with a report on building needs totaling some $26 million. The board of education chose to present the program in phases with the first phase consisting of two new junior high schools, considerable remodeling of the existing high school, some elementary rooms, and the like.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People would not support the program claiming one of the proposed junior high sites was in a Negro area. Despite the position taken by the board that all secondary schools would be integrated, the proposal was defeated in June of 1967.

In December 1967, a similar program came to a vote after the one site in question had been dropped and a noncontroversial site announced. Because of inflation, this second effort would have provided somewhat less space for $10.5 million than that which had been proposed earlier for $9.75 million. This proposal was defeated. We were deeply affected by the so-called taxpayer's revolt against the property tax, or so a postmortem survey indicated.

Concurrently, however, improvements were being made in the educational program. Overcrowded conditions were reduced by busing some pupils from black schools to places where conditions were less crowded—that is, to schools in suburban areas which were all white. Pupil-teacher ratios were leveled out. Steps were taken toward uniform textbooks and curriculum standards; subjects such as art, music, and physical education were taught by specialists and offered in schools where such had not been the case before.

I would cite other examples of improved coordination of courses of study, testing, and so forth.

Starting in 1965–66 the district applied for and received funds under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. These funds, plus special State funds for disadvantaged pupils, and grants from private foundations for community education and other special programs, enabled the district to offer many improvements in the educational services. We have currently some 2,251 pupils in grades K–6 who are eligible for special help as projected on the basis of the 1970–71 assessment tests.

In spite of moving toward the stated objectives enunciated in the consolidation studies, there has been a shift in population and it is apparent that many whites have left the district. The racial census of the K–12 student body in 1971 shows that there were about 40 percent white pupils, 59 percent black pupils, and 1 percent Indian and other. In comparison with the 1965 data, you will note that the racial situation has more than reversed itself.

Senator MONDALE. Why the dramatic shift?

Mr. SREBOTH. The reasons that have been enunciated in public hearings have been safety of youngsters; fear for safety of youngsters and quality of educational program.

Senator MONDALE. Do you think those are the reasons?

Mr. SREBOTH. Do I think those are the reasons, Senator?

Senator MONDALE. Yes. What do you think are the reasons?

OTHER FACTORS INVOLVED

Mr. SREBOTH. Officially, I have to say those are the reasons that have been stated. Personally, I might feel that there are some other factors that are involved.

Senator MONDALE. I don't want to embarrass you, but would you feel free to talk about those factors?

Mr. SREBOTH. For one thing, the decline of the property values has always been another factor that has been enunciated. In other words, the homeowners' feeling that their property had been devalued as poor people and black people have moved into the area.

Senator MONDALE. Do you think this trend has been brought about due to the consolidation, or for other reasons?

Mr. SREBOTH. I think we get to it a little later, the welfare thing has had an effect, as well.

Senator MONDALE. Is that related to the consolidation, or were they moving in for other reasons?

Mr. SREBOTH. I would say that they were moving in for other reasons, to take advantage of our—particularly, I would say liberal kind of welfare. We are kind of a gateway from Chicago and northern Indiana area into Michigan.

Senator MONDALE. Kind of a port of entry?

Mr. SREBOTH. Yes, sir. We are in the southwestern corner of the State, or near the southwestern corner. We are not far from the Indiana line to the south, towards Niles and South Bend. We are only 90 miles from Chicago.

I would say a lot of our people have connections in the city of Chicago with relatives and friends there.

Senator MONDALE. And they come in?

Mr. SREBOTH. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. These are some of the most tragic areas of the country—East Los Angeles, where we have the Mexican Americans moving in from Mexico, farm hands, and so on—an area continually in flux. Is that some of what you have there?

Mr. SREBOTH. Yes, sir. And we have an additional situation in that we, besides being urban, we are suburban, and we are also rural. We are in a very heavy fruit growing area and we have migrants of all kinds coming in there.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have Mexican Americans?

Mr. SREBOTH. Yes, but they do not stay. They either move on to other areas, or retreat south. They are not particularly in our district.

Senator MONDALE. Where are the whites going that are leaving?

Mr. SREBOTH. Our studies show that they are going for the most part to the neighboring district of Coloma, Watervliet, and a few to St. Joe, and more to Lake Shore, which is the next district over from St. Joe.

Senator MONDALE. Are those what you would call the suburbs?

Mr. SREBOTH. Yes, sir. They are suburban and perhaps rural in character, too.

Senator MONDALE. What whites are staying? The poor whites?

Mr. SREBOTH. Well, I would say that probably those who have an intense loyalty to the city and its environs. I would say we have a very positive group from those people who have graduated over the years from Benton Harbor High School. I would say that—having been an administrator in another community, as I mentioned—we, in our area, have looked to Benton Harbor High School as an excellent institution for secondary education for a number of years. And many of these people who live in the city are very loyal to that school.

Senator MONDALE. Very well.

Senator HART. Now that Senator Mondale has gotten a feel as to where Benton Harbor is, let me intrude with a question which really ought to be on the record, but I have to leave and go to another hearing.

Who won the mayor's race in Benton Harbor last night?

Mr. SREBOTH. Charles Joseph won. I might say, handily.

Senator HART. Good. A young, effective, responsible man. That is good. Thank you.

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It was a nonpartisan race, but he was at a Democratic lunch that I was at 2 weeks ago. I am sure he is not a Socialist.

City Population Dwindling

Mr. Srebotii. The population in the city dwindled from 19,136 in 1965 to 16,481 in 1970. I speak here now of the city only, and that is only a portion of our school district.

We have been deeply affected by the influx of poor people into the area. I do not have quantities of data, but a few figures may be revealing.

In the city of Benton Harbor in June 1971, according to the Department of Social Services, there were 5,543 persons on some form of assistance, either aid to dependent children, old age, or other assistance. You can see that this figure is in excess of one-third of the entire 1970 population census for the city of Benton Harbor.

In three of our mailing areas—Benton Harbor City, Benton Harbor Post Office outside the city, and Sodus, there are over 8,000 persons affected by ADC. The family case load being 2,059. This is about one-third of the load for the entire county of Berrien.

In 1967, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People brought suit against the district, charging unconstitutional segregation and unequal educational opportunities. The case was tried in February 1970, with a result that the essential Neighborhood School Plan, which was an official policy of the district, was held legal. Discrimination was found in assignment of faculty and in the tracking of students at Benton Harbor Junior High School and in the matter of some budget items. The district appealed the findings against it, and the plaintiff has now appealed that part of the decision upholding the district on segregation.

This case is to be heard by the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Benton Harbor High School has been the scene of some unrest, particularly from about 1968 to January 15, 1971, at which time a major disturbance took place.

Almost from the very start of consolidation there were some requests by property owners to the Intermediate School District to transfer property from this district to neighboring districts. For the most part, these involved either small groups of a few property owners, or individuals attempting to transfer a particular property out of the district. These were generally denied, and when appealed to the State Board of Education, the denials were subsequently upheld. However, in October 1969, a large group of property owners in the Hagar Township portion of the former Eaman District petitioned for transfer to the Coloma Community Schools. This is a rural and residential area with an all-white population. The Coloma Community Schools is essentially an all-white school. The petition was denied, and then appealed.

Fear of "Domino" Effect

Despite the recommendation of the hearing officer and the State department of education, the State board of education issued an order for the transfer, which took effect July 2, 1970. During the course of these hearings, the Benton Harbor area schools representa-

tives, with the full support of the board of education which was opposed to fragmentation of the district, pointed out repeatedly that if the Eaman transfer were permitted, a domino effect would take place and other groups would start proceedings to transfer.

During this same period of time the district was undergoing a study by Dr. Nicholas B. Engelhardt, an educational consultant who had been hired by an interested group of industrial and business leaders in the community to prepare an educational program and facilities plan for the district. Based upon this report, the board proceeded to formulate plans for the construction of a new senior high school. The principal and faculty committees began meetings with Dr. Engelhardt to draw the educational specifications for the building.

The board made tentative plans to hold a bond referendum in late winter or early spring of 1971. As plans were being finalized to start the legal steps to call an election, it was announced that some 1,800 Fairplain area residents were filing petitions requesting transfer to the St. Joseph School District. The Fairplain area is essentially an all-white area requesting transfer to an essentially all-white district. The transfer request was denied and immediately appealed to the State board. Hearings on this appeal were concluded August 1971. The State board has yet to make a decision on this matter. Subsequent to the Fairplain petition request, a group from Sodus Township filed a petition for transfer of their property to the Eau Claire School District. This transfer request was denied and has likewise been appealed to the State board of education.

The residents of the West LaFayette-West North Shore area petitioned to transfer their property to the St. Joseph School District. This is an all-white area requesting permission to transfer to an all-white area. This petition was denied and has also been appealed to the State board of education.

While we are waiting for additional secondary classroom space, Benton Harbor High School has been on an extended-day program. This started in the fall of 1970. Currently 11th and 12th graders are starting school at 7 a.m. and finishing at 12:05 p.m.; and a group of 9th and 10th graders come in at 12::20 and dismiss at 5:25 p.m. This arrangement has enabled the district to house the students but not without inconvenience to many families, children, and staff. To what extent this has hastened the exodus of families from the district cannot be measured.

Community Opposition

Educators face a serious challenge in our district. Taxpayers are not inclined to vote for new facilities while the matter of transfer petitions is in the air—since, under our present laws, should they be permitted to transfer, they would be obliged to carry the debt until bonds are retired.

The flight of the white populace has caused us to lose people who traditionally have shown support and involvement in schools. The taxpayers has seen fit not to renew a 1-mill building and site millage which has been levied for the last 3 years to provide funds for renovation, remodeling and general improvements in existing buildings—which has allowed us to take some positive steps. The district has not asked voters for increased operating funds for 1971–72; and, indeed,

probably was fortunate to renew existing extra operating millages. We have had to drop so-called community education programs because of a lack of State, local, or private funds.

It is very apparent that the community is divided on the matter of redrawing the district lines or working within the present framework. We now have a committee which has been appointed by the Intermediate School District to study the matter of possible redistricting of the Benton Harbor area schools. Two of the members of our board of education reside in—and are petitioners—from a part of the district wishing to be transferred. The whole atmosphere leaves much to be desired with respect to efforts to muster the forces necessary to deal with the day-to-day and long-range problems of education. The spectre of fragmentation hangs over the district like a cloud.

Despite these many problems, the district is attempting to maintain and improve curricular offerings and to promote innovative programs, some introduced this year, such as individually guided instruction, continuing education, and programs for the academically talented.

Efforts continue to improve programs for the disadvantaged and vocational and special education instituted in prior years. Thanks to a dedicated staff of teachers and other employees, we are trying to do the best possible job for all of the children in the community. The Detroit case—that is, the decision by Judge Roth—has had an effect on the populace in our area as well as on those metropolitan regions of our State. I believe there are serious concerns about possible loss of local control of schools.

In conclusion, I would like to say that time limits have permitted only a sketchy outline of our situation and I would be happy to attempt to answer any question that the committee might have. If I feel I cannot respond accurately, then I would ask your indulgence in providing some time for research so that I might prepare correct answers. I have only been on this job for a short time.

BENTON HARBOR, MICH.

[Mr. Raymond Sreboth, superintendent for Benton Harbor School District; 11,982 pupils—54 percent black; dropout 10.9 percent]

School name	Percent minority	School size	Comparative achievement scores	Percentile
Eaman (now independent)	4	69		
Fair Plain Junior High School	46	562		
Fair Plain West	3	305	54.2	90
Fair Plain Northeast	29	224	46.0	0–5
Fair Plain Northwest	3	174	57.0	95+
Fair Plain East	15	272	53.8	85–90
Hull	42	539	41.4	0–5
Johnson	13	182	51.1	50–55
Martin Dale	6	184	44.5	0–5
Millburg	12	101	48.5	15
North Shore	12	109	52.2	70
Pearl School	9	143	49.1	20
Sorter	7	461	46.0	0–5
Sodus Elementary	39	93	50.7	40–45
Bard	99	455	39.7	0–5
Benton Harbor Junior High	92	667		
Boynton	82	254	44.1	0–5
Britain	89	572	38.7	0–5
Columbus	69	195	40.9	0–5
Morton	98	547	40.0	0–5
McCord	95	506	39.0	0–5
Brunson	64	488	46.2	0–5

Thank you for this opportunity to appear.

Senator MONDALE. As you have only been on the job for a short time, we want to get to you before you forget the answers. It is tougher as you go along.

Senator Hart?

Senator HART. I do apologize, Mr. Chairman, to you and to the witnesses from Michigan. I shall not be able to stay through all of the hearings of this committee today. Another committee is taking up the Supreme Court nominations in a few minutes, but I will be in and out.

I should explain I am not on this committee but, thanks to Senator Mondale, I am permitted to sit. It is an experience for which I am very grateful.

MICHIGAN PROBLEMS MAY GIVE UNDERSTANDING

I think all of us here will have a better understanding of the problems of education across the country as a result of getting into, in some depth, the problems that you see and the suggestions that you make in response to the problems that you see in Michigan.

I apologize for having to be in and out.

You concluded by commenting on the reaction of Judge Roth's Detroit opinion and the fear that it jeopardizes the local control of the schools.

Has there been any formal organization of groups to reverse, either through lawful or other means, the application of the 14th Amendment?

Mr. SREBOTH. I am not acquainted with any in our particular area. Perhaps some of my colleagues here who are from other districts and perhaps have gone around to various groups that I have not may know of some.

Right at the moment, I am not acquainted with any.

Senator HART. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MONDALE. What is your per-pupil expenditure rate?

Mr. SREBOTH. If we include all of our funds, that is, the special State funds and the Federal funds, we are probably at about $950, in that area.

If we take out what we call Section 3 money of the State Aid Act, which is for the low achievers and so on, then we are probably in the neighborhood of $845.

Senator MONDALE. If you consider Section 3 funds, and I think you should, you are probably about the average per-pupil expenditure in Michigan, are you not?

Mr. SREBOTH. I do not know as I have that statistic. Perhaps we are taking them all together, because we do have the special funds that would tend to boost ours up a little bit.

Senator MONDALE. Title I?

Mr. SREBOTH. Yes, in that case, I think we would be, because we are about $950, and I guess that would be above the average.

STATE ASSESSMENT PROGRAM

Senator MONDALE. Now, have your children been tested in the State assessment program?

Mr. SREBOTH. Yes, they have.

Senator MONDALE. Where does that show them in terms of that test?

Mr. SREBOTH. As I indicated, there are about 2,251 who are below the 15th percentile based on last year's assessment. So, this would be about roughly a third of our elementary pupils are below the 15th percentile.

Senator MONDALE. What is the 15th percentile approximately? Is that a dangerously low level in your opinion?

Mr. SREBOTH. I would say those are children with pretty low achievement, pretty low level.

Senator MONDALE. In your opinion, is the school improving in terms of the number that fall below that 15th percentile or whatever other standard you have?

Mr. SREBOTH. I think we will know that as we have more data in the years to come. I think this is only the second year, and I do not believe we showed any marked improvement over the prior year.

However, under our new Section 3 plan in Michigan, we must now zero in on particular students. We must identify those students by name, and we must develop a program for improvement of that particular youngster or a program that will improve particular individuals, and we will have to zero in this year on those folks in order to be funded the following year. They must come up to a certain level.

I think the we will begin to see, at least hopefully, we will be able to see some marked improvement.

Senator MONDALE. How much Section 3 money are you getting?

Mr. SREBOTH. This year I believe it is in the neighborhood of $450,000.

Senator MONDALE. You said that you are receiving many children from Chicago?

Mr. SREBOTH. And other urban areas.

Senator MONDALE. What are the other urban areas?

Mr. SREBOTH. I would say we get some from Detroit and probably some from Gary and so on.

Senator MONDALE. How do they happen to come to Benton Harbor? What do you think is the reason?

Mr. SREBOTH. As I mentioned earlier, I think in Michigan, and I do not know all the technicalities about welfare, but I understand that we have a very good climate for welfare recipients. We are also so close by—1½ hours to 1¾ hours via automobile—Chicago; and, maybe, 1¼ hours from Gary, and 3 hours from Detroit. So, if they have relatives in these localities, it is very easy to get the other relatives up, either from these urban areas or from Southern States. Some come directly.

My feeling is some come via other urban centers, not directly from Mississippi and Arkansas.

Senator MONDALE. Why do they prefer Benton Harbor over Detroit or Chicago?

Mr. SREBOTH. I think we have a very fine kind of climate. The geography as such, there is some opportunity for employment because of our diversification, industry, and agriculture. I think it is possible for many people, if they desire to work, to find employment on the farms in the summer and in the fall.

I think it just has a lot of natural advantages. We have a fine climate, a fairly moderate winter, and we have an established kind of government and so on.

Senator MONDALE. Our next witness is Mr. Richard Ziehmer, superintendent of schools, St. Joseph, Mich.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD ZIEHMER, SUPERINTENDENT, ST. JOSEPH PUBLIC SCHOOLS, ST. JOSEPH, MICH.

Mr. ZIEHMER. Thank you, Senator.

I have prepared a brief statement.* I will read parts of it, if I may.

Senator MONDALE. That is helpful to us.

Mr. ZIEHMER. I have characterized our school district as, I think, a reasonably prosperous small town suburban area with residents who want and are willing to pay for good schools. I have included the taxing information, the fact that we are a high valuation district, as Mr. Sreboth pointed out, and I have included in here we are virtually all-white.

I believe our school population is about 1-percent black.

I have pointed out one item that I would like to stress, and that is, over a period of years the citizens in our district have markedly increased the local percentage of support for schools. In 1955 we assessed $97.70 for school operating purposes on a home that on the market would have been worth $20,000. A similar home this year will be assessed at $275.96. My indication here is that, in 1955, 48 percent of our revenues for school operating came from local property taxes. Whereas, for the current year 75 percent of our revenues are coming from the local taxpayer.

I think this gives you a picture of the overall State support situation in Michigan, at least for a higher valuation district.

Mr. Mitchell was very interested in the mobility of students among and between districts, and since we had some sketchy data about that topic, he asked that it be included in our statement.

We have carefully analyzed—and I am reading on page 3 now—we have carefully analyzed all those students in our current grades 1 through 12—kindergarten was eliminated due to lack of history for last year. The group included 4,069 students in the fall of 1970 and 4,165 students in the fall of 1971. On the surface, this would appear to be a characteristic moderate growth of 96 students from one year to the next; however, 541 of the students who are enrolled in our schools in the fall of 1971 were not with us in the fall of 1970, and it is then obvious that 445 students have moved or dropped out along the way.

In other words, we have served a group of 4,610 young people during the period fall 1970—fall 1971, and about 1 out of 5 moved in or out during that period. This mobility rate of 21 percent appears to be high yet it does not seem to affect the overall performance of students in our district.

As I mentioned earlier, our students score very well on State assessment tests, all kinds of standardized tests. I think it is reasonably accurate to say we would be in the 85th percentile or about on these achievement tests.

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*See prepared statement, p. 9732.

Mr. Mitchell has made what I consider to be an objective and comprehensive analysis of Michigan assessment data.* These data make it rather obvious that equal educational opportunity, if such can be measured by performance on a test, does not exist in Michigan. Currently, there is a large segment of our population which has no alternative to public schools, and at the same time has very little say in public policies about schools. Early in our history, groups of people were able to create alternatives when the public schools did not suit their needs; I refer, of course, to the many religious and other private schools which were developed to serve thousands of young people in our cities for many, many years. Unfortunately, no such alternative programs exist for most of our citizens today and our test results indicate that the public schools, for one reason or another, have not been of much help to many children.

Financial Equality

The Governor and Attorney General of our State have begun action to "equalize opportunity" by eliminating the property tax as a source of school operating funds. Should this suit be successful we can anticipate a uniform statewide school support plan, probably based on an increased income tax. In my opinion, equal educational opportunity will not be created by bringing all districts to a similar level of financial support. I believe that the best way to bring about equal educational opportunity is to provide for local decisionmaking according to the peculiar needs of the local population with provision for adequate finance at whatever level necessary to meet those perceived needs.

Senator Mondale. As I understand the lawsuit, it would be for the purpose of basically providing the less wealthy districts with enough to be adequately financed, does it not?

Mr. Ziehmer. I am sorry, I didn't understand the question.

Senator Mondale. Your formula is to provide local decisionmaking authority according to the peculiar needs of the local population with provision for adequate financing to meet the needs in that district.

As I understand the lawsuit, part of what they seek to do is to provide that adequate financing. Do you see it that way, or do you see it differently?

Mr. Ziehmer. No, sir, I do not. The figures that we have been given and the very range I am about to state indicate the problem.

Our representatives, our State senators indicated to replace the property tax as a source of school operating funds in the State of Michigan will require $600 million to $1 billion. That is kind of a wide estimate. I think that in itself speaks for the lack of data. They are talking about an income tax figure of 7 percent—7.2 percent, something of this nature, and if those figures—something in that nature is used, we are not going to be able to permit local districts such as ours to continue to spend on the basis that we have been spending, because presumably we would base a statewide program on need of youngsters. How we would measure that, there are several possible ways.

*See Part 19A–1—Staff charts on Michigan's Educational Assessment Program.

Our State aid right now is one example. I have no real objection to the way that is set up. We all have criticisms of the State assessment, but in general, I think we are in agreement with its purposes. So, a district such as ours is not going to be able to demonstrate educational need in a manner similar to that which can be demonstrated in Benton Harbor.

Where our youngsters are 85th percentile and above, Benton Harbor's youngsters are in the 15th percentile and below. We see there is going to be a mediocre level at some point, subsistence level, maybe $900 a child, maybe $700 a child, whatever figure the State revenues can yield, and anything above that quite rightly on a statewide basis should go to those districts with demonstrated need.

Senator MONDALE. Are you fearful that this equalizing effort will bring down the quality of suburban schools?

Mr. ZIEHMER. Yes, I am.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you.

Mr. ZIEHMER. A local board system of control has not really been tried in Michigan as a representative form of government, because boards of education in our State have not had the authority to levy taxes sufficient to provide adequate money for the kinds of programs which those boards believe to be essential for their schools.

I would like to parenthetically insert that I came to St. Joseph in 1965 at which time Mr. Sreboth's second prodecessor was superintendent, and the district had just been consolidated. I think if at that time had the Benton Harbor Board of Education been able to levy whatever taxes were needed to get the district going, the picture might be somewhat different than it is today. Certainly the building picture would be different and the facilities would be there.

There just didn't seem to be time to get everyone going and everything going together, and all this financial pressure hit us, and a lot of districts started losing elections. That is the point that I am trying to make here.

I refer back to what Ray said to illustrate it.

It has always been necessary to go before the people with tax referendums in our State. These districts, such as ours, which have been successful year after year in passing millage elections have been able to continuously increase the expenditure per pupil in order to maintain or improve the educational programs.

Local boards should have the authority to levy whatever kinds of taxes in whatever amounts are appropriate for the local situation.

The collection machinery has already been established by other units of government and there would be little problem in permitting those units to continue to collect and then to remit the moneys to local school districts.

A system of local districts, structured to provide an adequate minimum size and tax base, would work. I think it is incorrect to say that local control of education will not work when a truly representative system has not been tried, at least in Michigan.

As an example of what can be done with adequate organization and finance I submit the operation of our programs for trainable mentally handicapped students.

We are well able to meet the needs of children with IQs of 50 and below because we have more than $2,200 available to spend for each of those youngsters each year. With this kind of financing we can operate on the basis of one trained adult for each four or five students and the job gets done. If the same level of financing which exists for handicapped children in our State were available for each normal child—let me say I do not necessarily mean $2,200 for each normal child, but a comparable necessary amount—I have no doubt that we would come far closer to meeting the educational needs of all young people than we are able to do today.

This last statement is disjointed but with what is going on in Michigan I would like to add it.

I might also mention for the record that after Ray left town yesterday two more areas filed petitions to de-annex from Benton Harbor and to join a district to the north. I gave him that news this morning.

At the present time one of the great public policies of this Nation is one of racial integration. Since public schools are part of our overall governmental operation it is proper that they be employed to achieve almost any element of public policy; however, we should not delude ourselves into believing that achieving racial integration will automatically bring about equal educational opportunity, because it will not.

The only way to bring about equal educational opportunity is to provide for local decisionmaking according to the peculiar needs of the local population with provision for adequate finance at whatever level necessary to meet those perceived needs.

Thank you for the opportunity.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RICHARD ZIEHMER

Gent'emen, the School District of the City of St. Joseph, of which I am the superintendent, is located directly east across Lake Michigan from Chicago and has an area of 20 square miles including all of the St. Joseph and parts of Royalton, St. Joseph and Lincoln Townships. Total popu'ation of the school district is about 21,000. Valuation of land, buildings and other property of the district for school tax purposes is $114,000,723 of which 50.52% is classified as "industria or commercial property."

Current enrollment in the St. Joseph Public Schools is 4482. We operate 6 elementary schools, 2 junior high schools (grades 7 through 9), and 1 senior high school. In addition, our district operates a program for 165 trainable mentally handicapped children (IQ 50 and below) under contract with the Berrien County Intermediate School District. Our staff includes 243 full-time professional emp'oyees and 137 other personnel.

The current operating budget for our school district is $4,053,153 which breaks down to $904.72 per student. At current rates, the investment per pupil for 13 years of education in our district comes to $11,761.36, or about 90¢ per hour of instruction. We allocate 85.1% of our budget to salaries and benefits of employees.

St. Joseph Public School students score well on standardized achievement tests. On the 1971 Michigan assessment of student performance our students ranked above the 85th percentile in every area tested and in every set of comparisons. The citizens of St. Joseph have attempted to maintain what they perceive to be a quality program at increasing local expense. In 1955, 48% of the revenues to the St. Joseph Public Schools came from local property taxes; for the current year 75% of our revenues are from local property taxes. In 1955, our district assessed $97.70 on a $20 000 home for operation of our school district; during the current year a home worth $20 000 on the market will be assessed $275.96 for school operation. Taxes for school bonding and building and site purposes are, of course, in addition to those for operation. I should like to point out that the foregoing figures are on a strict cash basis. If the value of

a home worth $20,000 in 1955 inflated on a parity basis for the 16 years, the current operating tax would probably be double that mentioned.

Approximately 12% of the students who enter the 9th grade in St. Joseph do not complete high school. 70% of those who graduate from our high school will go on to some type of further education. Our district also contains three nonpublic schools. Test results of nonpublic school students who enter the public schools indicate that nonpublic school students in our community are on an equal status educationally with those in the public schools.

According to survey data gathered from our citizens in 1969 they believe the principal function of the school to be that of helping students to develop learning skills. I believe I can fairly characterize our school community as a reasonably prosperous small town and suburban area with residents who want and are willing to pay for good schools.

Your committee representative, Mr. Mitchell, was interested in the mobility of students between school districts, and since we had some sketchy data about that topic, he asked that we include it in our statement.

We have carefully analyzed all those students in our current grades 1 through 12 (kindergarten was eliminated due to lack of history for last year). The group included 4,069 students in the fall of 1970 and 4,165 students in the fall of 1971. On the surface, this would appear to be a characteristic moderate growth of 96 students from one year to the next; however, 541 of the students who are enrolled in our schools in the fall of 1971 were not with us in the fall of 1970, and it is then obvious that 445 students have moved or dropped out along the way.

In other words, we have served a group of 4,610 young people during the period fall 1970—fall 1971, and about 1 out of 5 moved in or out during that period. This mobility rate of 21% appears to be high yet it does not seem to affect the overall performance of students in our district. Although we are just beginning this analysis, I believe the major reason why mobility *per se* does not seem to hurt the performance of these young people is that their parents or guardians understand the school transfer process and make a special point to arrange entrance and exit interviews with principals, teachers or counselors. Many of these transferring students are from "executive migrant" families who are moving because of the father's transfer or promotion from company to company or from division to division within a corporation. The mother in such families usually makes several telephone calls and often brings the student to visit the new school before the move is made. It seems quite obvious that such transient students will be prepared and do well in the new school situation. Also, it is very obvious that education is important within these families and the youngsters' attitudes toward school will tend to be good.

Mr. Mitchell has made what I consider to be an objective and comprehensive analysis of Michigan assessment data. These data make it rather obvious that equal educational opportunity, if such can be measured by performance on a test, does not exist in Michigan. Currently, there is a large segment of our population which has no alternative to public schools, and at the same time has very little say in public policies about schools. Early in our history, groups of people were able to create alternatives when the public schools did not suit their needs; I refer, of course, to the many religious and other private schools which were developed to serve thousands of young people in our cities for many, many years. Unfortunately, no such alternative programs exist for most of our citizens today and our test results indicate that the public schools, for some reason or another, have not been of much help to many children.

The Governor and Attorney General of our state have begun action to "equalize opportunity" by eliminating the property tax as a source of school operating funds. Should this suit be successful we can anticipate a uniform state-wide school support plan, probably based on an increased income tax. In my opinion, equal educational opportunity will not be created by bringing all districts to a similar level of financial support. I believe that the best way to bring about equal educational opportunity is to provide for local decision making according to the peculiar needs of the local population with provision for adequate finance at whatever level necessary to meet those perceived needs.

A local board system of control has not really been tried in Michigan as a representative form of government, because boards of education in our state have not had the authority to levy taxes sufficient to provide adequate money for the kinds of programs which those boards believe to be essential for their schools. It has always been necessary to go before the people with tax referendums in our state.

Those districts, such as ours, which have been successful year after year in passing millage elections have been able to continuously increase the expenditure per pupil in order to maintain or improve the educational program. Local boards should have the authority to levy whatever kinds of taxes in whatever amounts are appropriate for the local situation. The collection machinery has already been established by other units of government, and there would be little problem in permitting those units to continue to collect and then to remit the monies to local school districts. A system of local districts, structured to provide an adequate minimum size and tax base would work. I think it is incorrect to say that local control of education will not work when a truly representative system has not been tried, at least in Michigan.

As an example of what can be done with adequate organization and finance I submit the operation of our programs for trainable mentally handicapped students. We are well able to meet the needs of children with IQs of 50 and below because we have more than $2,200 available to spend for each of those youngsters each year. With this kind of financing we can operate on the basis of one trained adult for each 4 or 5 students, and the job gets done. If the same level of financing which exists for handicapped children in our state were available for each normal child, I have no doubt that we would come far closer to meeting the educational needs for all young people than we are able to do today.

At the present time, one of the great public policies of this nation is one of racial integration. Since public schools are part of our overall governmental operation it is proper that they be employed to achieve almost any element of public policy; however, we should not delude ourselves into believing that achieving racial integration will automatically bring about equal educational opportunity, because it will not. The only way to bring about equal educational opportunity is to provide for local decision making according to the peculiar needs of the local population with provision for adequate finance at whatever level necessary to meet those perceived needs.

ST. JOSEPH, MICH.

[Mr. Richard Ziehmer, superintendent of St. Joseph Public Schools; 4,500 pupils—2 percent black; dropout 14 percent]

School name	Percent minority	School size	Comparative achievement scores	Percentile
Brown	1	332	54.8	90–95
Clarke	1	338	56.3	95+
Jefferson	1	317	56.2	95+
Lincoln	3	316	57.9	95+
Milton Junior High	2	523	55.9	95
Washington	3	294	54.4	90–95
Upton Junior High	0	575	54.9	90–95
North Lincoln Elementary	1	333	59.1	95+

Senator MONDALE. We will take a 2-minute break.

(Recess.)

Senator MONDALE. The committee will come to order.

What is the per-pupil valuation in St. Joseph's?

Mr. ZIEHMER. $25,590.

Senator MONDALE. What is it in Benton Harbor?

Mr. SREBOTH. $15,589.

Senator MONDALE. And, of course, within Michigan there is a difference between $2,900 per pupil and $70,000.

Mr. ZIEHMER. That is correct.

Senator MONDALE. Your formula must involve some outside help?

DIFFERENT TYPES OF TAXES

Mr. ZIEHMER. Some outside help, but also different types of taxes. For instance, the Benton Harbor School District houses the corporate

officers of the Whirlpool Corp. We tax their homes. Nobody taxes their incomes for school purposes. This is the kind of thing that I am getting at, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. The State taxes them, doesn't it?

Mr. ZIEHMER. All right. I am talking about the local district concept of being able to levy whatever taxes exist. If your district has a racetrack, let the district levy a racetrack tax—whatever the appropriate resources are.

I have also mentioned——

Senator MONDALE. There are some communities that do not have any resources.

Mr. ZIEHMER. This would require consolidation.

Senator MONDALE. You would tax welfare checks.

Mr. ZIEHMER. This would require some consolidation to create a tax base, and I have indicated this would be necessary.

We have a lot of inefficient districts, we know this.

ELIMINATE MILLAGE ELECTIONS

Senator MONDALE. Were you suggesting that school districts ought to be disabused of the honor of submitting tax increases to the public for votes?

Mr. ZIEHMER. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. In other words, the voters would decide on the election of the school board and the school board would decide on revenues?

Mr. ZIEHMER. That is right. I speak I guess from 12 years' experience, 14 millage elections and bonding elections, a great deal of our time and resources goes into this, and we really do not have the opportunity to demonstrate that we can educate.

When I say "we" I mean boards and administrations at this point.

I feel that if this time did not have to be used for elections we could use it for other purposes. If people were not satisfied with the way the schools were running they could change the school boards. I think this happens in many other forms of government in our country, and it would be appropriate at the local board level.

We have had the dubious distinction of being the only body that has to go time and time again to the local constituents, and we have demonstrated that we can do it to some degree of success.

DISPARITY OF RESOURCES

Senator MONDALE. But it is almost uniquely the wealthier school districts that have success. The poorer ones who need it the most—the poorer school district may be making an effort two or three times greater against its tax base but producing far less money.

Mr. ZIEHMER. Because the tax base is lower.

I see your point. I am trying to indicate that many districts, if they could tax other things than property within their own districts, could really find a pretty good tax base. When it is measured strictly on the basis of valuation of property per pupil, then you get the classification of wealthy and poor district.

There is another factor also and that is, if it is based strictly on property, the wealthier district with 3 or 4 mills can show the people some results. It might take 8 or 10 mills in a less affluent district.

So, what you say is correct, but I think if there were more taxes available it wouldn't be as correct. I think the discrepancies would be corrected.

I mentioned St. Joseph and Benton Harbor where we have a very obvious discrepancy separated by a river in a small metropolitan area.

Senator MONDALE. Would you be willing to consolidate?

Mr. ZIEHMER. Would I personally, or are you asking me to speak for our community?

Senator MONDALE. No, I was not asking for you to speak for anybody except yourself.

Mr. ZIEHMER. Yes, I would.

Senator MONDALE. It would be a change, would it not?

Mr. SREBOTH. Yes, a very dramatic one.

Mr. ZIEHMER. Provided Ray would find a position for me in the larger unit.

Senator MONDALE. Our next witness is Dr. Lewis Wood, superintendent of Covert public schools, Covert, Mich., and with him is Mr. Alfred Hawkins who is the principal of the Covert Elementary School.

STATEMENT OF DR. LEWIS WOOD, SUPERINTENDENT, COVERT PUBLIC SCHOOLS, ACCOMPANIED BY ALFRED HAWKINS, PRINCIPAL, COVERT ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, COVERT, MICH.

Dr. WOOD. Thank you, Senator Mondale.

We prepared one formal statement*, if it can be considered as such. I am not going to read all this statement. We will point out some things.

Since we are the only school here with two representatives I think you have an opportunity to ask two of us from the same school system questions and get some reaction.

Just historically, I would like to say that I have been superintendent of schools in Covert twice. I was there in 1952 to 1956. Mr. Sreboth was my high shcool principal at that time which is a unique situation I guess here. It was a very poor school district at that time. We had a $5,000 tax base behind each child at that time. But I have been in the district long enough to go back in a period of time for this school district. Not only that, I was superintendent of schools for 8 years next door to Covert. So, I kept track of them through that time, also.

We also have a unique situation. As we go through this, you will find a movement or a change in the community where we had Negro people come in and replace white people in a rural community which is unique. Although Mr. Alfred Hawkins is here as the elementary school principal, I should point out that he attended and started school in the second grade in the Covert schools, went to college, returned as a teacher, and has always taught in Covert and is now elementary principal. So, you may want to ask him some questions.

*See prepared statement, p. 9738.

In my written statement, I included a very brief history of Covert. Perhaps it is not so important how Covert became what it is, but rather to take a look at what it represents today.

It is unique, as I pointed out, because it is a rural school situation, a small rural school, with a high percentage of black people. It represents a changing situation because it was a predominantly all-white farming population.

As pointed out, the black population started to move in after World War II.

Loss of Middle Class

We have a situation where the so-called white middle-class merchant, farmer, businessman, have either left the community or if they are still around, they do not have children in school.

I also pointed out on page 1 that because of the location in a fruit area, a horticultural area, we at one time had a large number of white migrants come into our community. They did not stay all year. Nevertheless, we did have white migrants who left the migrant stream, a small percentage, who settled in Covert. They were looking for cheap housing, cheap rentals, and this was available in Covert.

So, some of them did stay.

I might point out that the trend has not stopped. When I was in Covert in 1952, I can remember the first year I was there the secretary of my office had a ritual of going around and counting students to find out whether we had more white students or more black students. I can remember well the first year I was there that we had 45 percent black and 55 percent white. So, I lived through the period of time where it changed from a predominantly white community to a predominantly black community as far as the student population was concerned.

I might point out two or three other unique situations. I might point out that Consumers Power Co. decided to build a nuclear power plant in our school district, and this has not been on the tax rolls for full valuation as yet, but we have gone from this $5,000 per student tax base to this operating year where we have $45,000 behind each child.

Mr. Sreboth has described somewhat the moving black population at Benton Harbor. We are only 20 miles from Benton Harbor, and I won't go into this in any more depth except to say probably the migration to Covert started in a little different manner. We had a couple of factors. We had land available. We had early blacks who worked for the railroads who could afford to buy property in Covert and did. So, we have some 20 or 30 years' experience with this changing population. We are still getting the mobility.

I would confirm Ray's figures that a number of our transfer students do come out of Chicago, a few come direct from the South, and some of them stop in Chicago for a rather brief period of time. But if you go over our list of transfers, we do get students out of the Chicago school system. A few of them stop in Benton Harbor along the way.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF LEWIS WOOD

COVERT PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Covert, Mich., October 29, 1971.

To: Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity.
From: Superintendent of Schools, Covert Public Schools, Covert, Mich.
Subject: Presentation of formal statement.

1. The attached pages are presented as background for the hearing before the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity on Michigan education.

2. Our formal statement to the Committee will be a summarization of this material.

3. Because of a rather short warning as to the format of the hearing, the report is not the best organized and with more time other factors might have been investigated. However, we hope we have included those basic facts which the Committee is interested in.

LEWIS C. WOOD,
Superintendent.

COVERT, MICH.

[Dr. Lewis Wood, superintendent of Covert Public Schools; Mr. Alfred Hawkins, principal of Covert Elementary School; 919 pupils—69 percent black; dropout 3.4 percent]

School name	Percent minority	School size	Comparative achievement scores	Percentile
Covert Elementary	66	394	43.3	0–5
Covert High School	74	327	44.8	0–5

COVERT PUBLIC SCHOOLS, COVERT, MICH.

BRIEF HISTORY

The history of the present Covert School District begins in 1923 when eight rural schools consolidated to form a high school district. The district from 1923 to the war years (1942–50) was a rural community, made up of white people engaged in farming and horticulture enterprises. Much of the land, being low land, was not suited to farming and was undeveloped. Starting in 1942 a cultural change took place. There had been a zoning ordinance passed in Chicago, negro waiters and porters from railroad lines had money in excess and Covert had land available. From an agricultural community, it became a community of large families whose parent or parents remained employed in Chicago. Since that time more and more negro families have replaced the white families who once lived in Covert. There are no industries within the community. A few good fruit farms and a few large blueberry farms still remain. In the past this attracted some 1000 white migrants each year from the south and each year a few of these families stayed in the area to make Covert their home. Mechanization has almost eliminated the need for migrant help in the immediate Covert area.

COVERT SCHOOL DISTRICT

The Covert School District occupies approximately thirty-five (35) square miles and is located in southwestern Michigan. The District operates one elementary school (K–6) and one high school (7–12). School enrollment at present for full time students is 834 pupils. Black pupils represent 67% of the elementary school enrollment and 75% of the high school enrollment.

The elementary school enrollment (K–6) is 461 pupils; the staff consists of 25 teachers, 12 teacher aides, and a building principal. The high school has an enrollment of 440 pupils and is staffed by 25 teachers, 2 teacher aides, and a building principal.

MICHIGAN ASSESSMENT PROGRAM

The Michigan Assessment Program was initiated by the Michigan State Board of Education and funded by the Legislature initially through enactment of Public Act 307, of 1969, and subsequently under Public Act 38, of 1970. Up to this point, the specific goal of the program has been to provide information relative to

schools and district resources, student background, and student/school performance in the basic skills.

The results of the assessment show Covert to be one of those schools with a high percentage of low achievers. The statistic we have chosen to use in this report is the percentage of pupils below the 15th percentile. Covert had 38.42% of its pupils score below the 15th percentile for the dubious distinction of being number six in the State in rank order of school districts.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

The number of pupils eligible for ESEA Title I last year was 273 pupils or 33% of the student population. Some twenty percent of the students parents were on ADC. (Aid to Dependent Children). Above this level are many more pupils just above the cited levels of poverty whose parents work but have to make do with salaries at the lower ends of the local wage scales. This includes both the local white population and the black population.

ACHIEVEMENT TEST RESULTS

Table II (See Tables) shows the percentage of pupils in grades two through six who score below the 15th percentile. The Michigan Assessment Test shows 38.42% below the 15th percentile and is an average of results of testing the fourth and seventh grades in the 1970–71 school year.

Our own testing program using the Gates MacGinitie Reading Test, the Iowa Test of Basic Skills and Metropolitan Achievement Test show similar results. In fact, the results shown for grade five on Table II, which was the fourth grade last year, shows almost identical percentages on the Michigan Assessment Test, the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, and the Gates MacGinitie Reading Test.

Although comparing grade results might not be statistically sound the table might suggest that as students move through the school system a smaller percentage of pupils fell below the 15th percentile.

Table IV compares the achievement test results of pupils who start school in Covert with pupils who transfer to Covert Schools. Unfortunately our testing program takes us through the Elementary School only. This is because Section III, of the State Aid Act, which requires this kind of reporting applies only to the elementary grades. Likewise, our ESEA Title I program has been an entirely elementary reading program and summer enrichment program for elementary age pupils.

Again we make no claim of statistical reliability but only present the data. Table IV does back up the suggestion that as pupils progress through the elementary school less and less of them fall below the 15th percentile. It also indicates that, perhaps the transfer-ins do not show this improvement. This would be an important point to consider in any plan of accountability. Perhaps the school district can make a good accountability for the families whose children stay in our schools. Conversely the results for that part of the school population which moves in and out of our schools may not show this progress and, this may well be a factor in low achievement results school wide.

Table V is presented as a last sort of evidence to back up the suggestion that students who stay in Covert and graduate do (in spite of a poor start) achieve success. We have no breakdown on last years senior class as to the length of time they spent in our schools. However, as the next paragraph may indicate, there appears to be some group of pupils who go through our school system from kindergarten to the twelfth grade and a smaller group who move in but remain in our school system for sometime.

Table V does show, in spite of a changing population through out the school system and a drop out rate of approximately 6% in the high school grades, that a high percentage of our pupils continue their training after high school and we might add, (no evidence presented) that many of these people do complete their training and enter many of the professions and to a lesser extent skilled trades.

This may well be as much a product of changing attitudes and aspirations as it is to the particular academic training received in high school.

MOBILITY

Tables I and III both address themselves to mobility of the student population of the Covert Schools.

Table I gives the number and percentage of pupils who transferred out and transferred in to Covert Schools during the period from October 2, 1970 to October 1, 1971. In this period nearly thirteen (13) percent of the pupils left the Covert Schools while fifteen (15) entered the school system.

Table III shows the number of students by grades who entered the school system in kindergarten, transfers in who have been in Covert Schools less than five years.

Although the transfers-in with five years in Covert has little application to the elementary grades; it is interesting to note that in grades seven through twelve the transfer-ins within five years equa s or exceeds the number for every grade who have transferred to Covert more than five years ago. Along with this fact are the data on those pupils in the upper four grades who have gone through the schoo' system. The data shows a leveling off process at a point of forty-five (45) to fifty (50) percent of the class membership as having gone to school exclusively in Covert.

The Writers own conclusion is that about forty-five (45) to fifty (50) percent of the pupils represent a non-mobile population; that is approximate'y one-fourth of the students transferring in may stay for more than five years and, that we can expect something like thirty (30) percent of the school population to turn over rather constantly at the rate of fifteen (15) percent of the student body every year.

TABLE I.—PUPIL TURNOVER

PUPILS WHO ENTERED COVERT SCHOOLS AND TRANSFERRED OUT OF COVERT SCHOOLS FROM OCT. 2, 1970, TO OCT. 1, 1971 (KINDERGARTEN AND SCHOOL DROPOUTS NOT INCLUDED)

	Number of pupils	Percentage of pupil population
Transfers out	101	12.9
Transfers in	119	15.0

TABLE II.—PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS BELOW 15TH PERCENTILE—BY GRADE AND ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

Grade	Michigan assessment test	Metropolitan		Iowa basic skills		Gates MacGinitie reading test
		Reading	Math	Reading comprehension	Math	
2		50	51			50
3		43	63			47
4	[1] 38.42			27	28	40
5				38	39	38
6				42	44	38
7	[1] 38.42					30

[1] 38.42 percent is average of last years 4th and 7th grade testing.

Note; 2 to 6 equals 316; 7 equ ls 70.

TABLE III.—YEARS IN COVERT SCHOOLS

[Comparison of pupils entering kindergarten in Covert, transfers-in in Covert schools for over 5 years, and transfers-in within last 5 years by grade]

Grade	Enrollment fall 1971	Initial enrollment in Covert		Transfers-in have spent 5 years in Covert		Transfers-in less than 5 years in Covert	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1	70	55	79			15	21
2	77	53	69			24	31
3	65	45	69			20	31
4	60	37	62			20	31
5	75	52	69			23	31
6	51	37	73			14	27
7	89	42	47			47	53
8	65	37	57	4	6	24	37
9	54	23	43	6	11	25	46
10	63	35	56	10	16	18	28
11	46	21	46	12	26	13	28
12	31	15	48	8	26	8	26

TABLE IV.—COMPARISON OF RESIDENT AND TRANSFER PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT (GRADES 2 to 6)

	Pupils who started school in Covert below 15th percentile				Transfer pupils below 15th percentile			
		Percent				Percent		
Grade	Number	Reading achievement and comp.	Math	Gates Mac-Ginitie reading	Number	Reading achievement and comp.	Math	Gates Mac-Ginitie reading
2	53	49	45	53	24	46	58	42
3	45	51	17	55	20	25	45	30
4	37	13	24	35	23	39	35	48
5	52	33	30	33	23	43	48	39
6	37	35	35	24	14	43	50	64

TABLE V.—1971 COVERT GRADUATES

	Number	Percent
College	22	65
Trade school	1	3
Armed service	3	9
Work	6	17
Married	1	3
Home	1	3
Total	34	100

Dr. WOOD. Mr. Hawkins would like to speak for a few minutes.

Mr. HAWKINS. One of the things I would like to mention about this mobility, because this is the thing that I brought to Mr. Mitchell's attention, it is unique with us, because many of our students do come from Chicago, but there is a reason. I am a product of that same reason. Right after the war, with the racial problems they had, my family decided to make that move. They had to find some utopia where black children can be raised. Why Covert? You know somebody there in a little place in Michigan called Covert? One by one this migration started. Ninety-five percent of all blacks in that system will tell you they are from Chicago by some contact or another, whether they were born there or whether they transferred from Chicago. So, this is where many of the roots come from. It is mainly because someone knows.

I look at my own family. I have quite a few relatives in Covert now. You had better not talk about anyone, because you are talking about someone's relatives. This is why you find so many from one area. It is affecting the attitudes of our students. As I told Mr. Mitchell, we have a process we talk about. We have to "Covertnize" many of our students. In other words, we have to change some attitudes because we are the only institution in the community.

So you are going to go to school if you don't do anything else, because there is nothing else to do. That means when you come, you have got to come with an attitude to work. It takes a little process here to make this conversion.

MOBILITY FACTOR

But this is that mobility factor, and it is definitely there. Many times they are living with uncles or grandparents. They might stay with us a year; they might stay with us 2 years; find out it is too

dull, too dead. They go back. But they are not staying with parents, and this is another important factor. It is always with someone else. That person many times does not put the types of pressures on students that are conducive for learning.

I also attribute this to our testing process. I don't feel that we are that low, but we would pretend and act that low if this is done again.

There are many factors that you cannot put on paper which indicate why we are low on the State assessment.

Senator MONDALE. If a black parent in Chicago came to you and said: "Look, where would my children get a better break, in Chicago, where I live, or in Covert?" What would you tell them?

Mr. HAWKINS. I am prejudiced. Dr. Woods made one statement. I started teaching in Chicago and I gave it up and returned myself.

Senator MONDALE. Tell me the reasons as you see them.

Mr. HAWKINS. Closer contact, teacher-student. We take a great deal of interest in our students.

Senator MONDALE. In other words, there is a humanity there, knowing the children. That is not true in Chicago?

Mr. HAWKINS. Well, this would be true, plus basically another factor. Down inwardly many of us like to put our hands on the soil. So, you have this opportunity. This is why many people retire to this area. They can have a little garden, this type of thing. As far as I am concerned, the area is where I want to be.

Senator MONDALE. In other words, it has kind of a rural setting?

Mr. HAWKINS. It has that rural plus urban setting. I can get into the city within 1½ hours with the expressways, and as soon as they improve that new section, I can get anywhere I want to go in 2 hours.

Senator MONDALE. Do you think the schoolchildren in the Covert schools get more personal attention and support than they do in the Chicago schools?

Mr. HAWKINS. Yes, they do. This is our philosophy.

Senator MONDALE. They do get more support?

Mr. HAWKINS. That is correct.

Senator MONDALE. Isn't there a lot of humanity in the Chicago schools?

Mr. HAWKINS. I am not indicting the Chicago schools. Maybe it is your neighborhood. I can't even indict the neighborhood. Like I say, we have to take many of these individuals and tell them you are here now, this is the place you want to be, let's make some changes. Many times the parents want to make the changes, not the students. Plus another thing, the parents send more daughters than they do the fellows.

Senator MONDALE. They would rather get the daughters out of town?

Mr. HAWKINS. We are a female-oriented school and community. Yes, we have more females than we have males.

Senator MONDALE. Why is that?

Mr. HAWKINS. We want to get the daughters out of the city.

Senator MONDALE. Why?

Mr. HAWKINS. I would say mainly it is because of the type of situation that exists in the city. I would say in many areas it could be gang warfare. A fellow could survive a lot easier than a female. So, this is why you would find more females than you do males. Plus, as far as

the adults are concerned, they have to stay and work. I have one student whose father, believe it or not, drives every day to Chicago to work. That is how bad he wanted to get his family out of the city. This is rare. Most fathers stay and come in on weekends.

Low Achievement Scores and College

Senator Mondale. I was interested in the low achievement scores and that 65 percent of your high school graduating class went on to college.

Mr. Hawkins. That is correct.

Senator Mondale. How do you explain that?

Mr. Hawkins. It is simple, because we didn't take tests seriously. I have had to implement a program in the elementary school just to get students to understand, okay, this is the name of the game, testing; so, we have got to start making the name of the game the way they want to play it. We didn't care about tests as far as students.

Now we are going through a period where tests are important and we have to teach the importance of tests. But mainly as they get into high school, we are the recipients, since we are one of the predominantly black schools in the area. Every college in the state is seeking black students.

So, we reap all these benefits, and our students take the advantage of them because we do take a personal interest in them.

Senator Mondale. You had 34 in your high school graduating class in 1971; is that correct?

Mr. Hawkins. Yes.

Senator Mondale. And 22 went on to college. Has that roughly been true in previous years, the last 2 or 3 years?

Mr. Hawkins. We are running I would say 50 to 55 percent will go on from every graduating class and 40 percent will make it.

Senator Mondale. In other words, 40 percent of the 55 percent——

Mr. Hawkins. Will survive. They have nothing else to do but survive.

Senator Mondale. In other words, if you had a hundred students go, about 40 of them will make it.

Mr. Hawkins. That is right.

Senator Mondale. So a lot of the students going on to college don't make it?

Mr. Hawkins. When you say don't make it, it all depends on what you want.

Senator Mondale. To get a college diploma.

Mr. Hawkins. Some seek 2-year terminal certificates. As far as we are concerned, they have made it.

Senator Mondale. In other words, they went to higher education and they achieved their objective, junior college, 4-year college?

Mr. Hawkins. This 40 percent, and I believe if we did a study we would find this would be higher. I have always contended that we produce citizens who want to make it in this world because it is something that is embedded in them.

Senator Mondale. Do you think the students feel that when they graduate, that they are ready to take on the world?

Mr. Hawkins. Definitely.

Dr. Woods. I think this goes back quite a number of years, looking back over our graduates. I made the statement in here, I don't have any statistics on how many people over the last 20 years have done the same thing Alfred has done, gone through school and achieved his goal, but we certainly have a lot of them.

Senator Mondale. Where did you go to college?

Mr. Hawkins. Western Michigan University.

Senator Mondale. In education?

Mr. Hawkins. Education, correct. This is not the trend. Education is not the greatest pool today.

Senator Mondale. Where are they going to go now?

Mr. Hawkins. Many of them are going into business, secretarial. We have quite a few girls in nursing. So, they are beginning to branch in different areas now, because the State of Michigan is beginning to get an overabundance of teachers.

Like I say, the State assessment test will not give an indication of what has happened on the other end. As I have said before, that is because we don't care enough about tests.

Per Pupil Expenditure

Senator Mondale. What is your per capita spending budget?

Dr. Wood. Our per capita cost last year was $908. Now, this does include Section 3 funds.

Senator Mondale. Do you plan to raise it to $3,000 next year?

Dr. Wood. No, I am afraid not, but it will be higher.

Senator Mondale. No doubt about it.

Dr. Wood. This does not include Title I funds. We do have a Title I program, but it is administered by the Intermediate School District Office. We have one or two reading teachers——

Senator Mondale. How much Title I money did the school district get last year?

Dr. Wood. $39,000.

Senator Mondale. You are spending more than $1,000 a pupil?

Dr. Wood. That is right.

Senator Mondale. That is a pretty good score.

Dr. Wood. Right.

But as I say, this is very recent.

Senator Mondale. Now, you have got that power plant?

Dr. Wood. If we don't change the tax base, we are in good shape.

Senator Mondale. The country has a lot to learn from you folks.

Mr. Hawkins. We need some buildings.

Senator Mondale. I think you will get them. Unless that power plant has wheels, I think you are going to get buildings.

This is an interesting thing. We have a small school which is sort of rural, predominantly black, but with a fairly hopeful, optimistic performance and I gather some stability. While there is some turnover, there is stability in the community.

Dr. Wood. We do have a very stable population, and we have a transitory population.

Senator Mondale. But the stability of the community sort of predominates. You have the in and outs, but there is a fairly stable community.

Dr. WOOD. Somewhere in the neighborhood of 40 percent.

Senator MONDALE. Here is a rather affluent white competitive type school district: and then we have Benton Harbor, which is in a tight revenue bind, which many of the white communities are trying to get out from underneath, with a tremendous number of welfare people, poor people, and a low achievement scale.

What can we do to help Benton Harbor?

Mr. SREBOTH. May I make one comment so we don't get the impression that our entire school system is down, and Mr. Mitchell probably has the test data, I did not bring all this information with me, but we have some schools in the predominantly white areas that test as high as any in the State, that are way up there.

Of course, our problem is so complex.

Senator MONDALE. Take Fairplain East?

Mr. SREBOTH. Or Fairplain West.

Senator MONDALE. All right. That is predominantly white?

Mr. SREBOTH. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. Is that fairly middle class or upper-middle class?

CRITICAL BUILDING PROGRAM LOST

Mr. SREBOTH. Yes, sir.

Our problems are so complex. As Dick Ziehmer so correctly pointed out, if at the time of consolidation we could have gone immediately into a building program, build our two new junior high schools and had our high school fixed up—you know hindsight is always good—I think we would have minimized the problem.

Senator MONDALE. But that would have taken money, wouldn't it?

Mr. SREBOTH. Yes, sir, it would have, and it did not come to pass.

But this certainly would have minimized our problems, and I think maybe even forestalled or even eliminated those more serious problems that came later due to crowded conditions.

I think possibly we could have gone on and met those goals with the entire community after consolidation, because at that time I felt, and I am sure many in the community felt, that the community had done the right thing. There was some real humanitarianism if you want to put it that way, in seeing the need for putting this thing together. But we lost momentum when those building programs went down the drain.

As our problems multiplied, then the influential people pulled up stakes and left, and this is where we sit now.

Senator MONDALE. I doubt very much that those efforts to disassociate the school district are constitutional.

Mr. SREBOTH. Senator, I thought so a year or two ago when this thing broke, and again I am giving my own feeling on this thing, if that Eaman case had not come about, I don't think the others would have lined up as they have.

That one case was kind of a landmark, and we were off to the races when that happened.

Senator MONDALE. Was that a court case?

Mr. SREBOTH. No, sir.

Senator MONDALE. That was a decision——

Mr. SREBOTH. Of the State board of education.

Senator MONDALE. I am talking about the law, not politics.

Mr. SREBOTH. I guess we are talking about the law and politics, because the State board of education had the power to send these people over, which thy did.

Senator MONDALE. Nobody brought a lawsuit?

Mr. SREBOTH. In our law, unless there was something wrong with the hearing procedure, there is no appeal from that decision, at least in the State.

Senator MONDALE. The Supreme Court can hear anything they want, and usually does.

OPPOSITION TO TRANSFER

Mr. ZIEHMER. You brought up the percentile ranges of the youngsters in Fairplain. As you know, that is the area that has appealed. They have appealed to transfer to our school district. Our board of education is on record as opposed to this transfer.

This was not the case in the Eaman situation. During that hearing, Senator, I pointed out to the people from Fairplain that apparently it was possible to get a good education in the Benton Harbor school system.

They brought the data into the hearing and indicated that their youngsters were comparable to ours.

Of course, we simply indicated that if that is the case, they got their education in Benton Harbor because that is where they had all gone to school.

Senator MONDALE. Their achievement levels on the tests compare very favorably with your school?

Mr. ZIEHMER I believe they are in the 95th percentile in at least four of the areas.

Senator MONDALE. Are you afraid of integration?

SAFETY FACTOR

Mr. SREBOTH. This could be a possibility, Senator. They are using the quality as an argument, and they are using safety very heavily as an argument, fear of sending their children to our high school.

Senator MONDALE. Safety?

Mr. SREBOTH. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. Is there evidence of problems?

Mr. SREBOTH. As I have indicated, we have had some problems, and people perceive them as being very serious. If they are fearful——

Senator MONDALE. What kind of problems did you have?

Can you just describe them?

Mr. SREBOTH. Back, I believe, on January 15, 1970, we had what has been termed by some, a riot which occurred about 7 o'clock in the morning. We believe it was a planned maneuver to destroy property and to upset the school atmosphere.

Senator MONDALE. What school?

Mr. SREBOTH. Benton Harbor High School.

Senator MONDALE. Did it have racial overtones?

Mr. SREBOTH. Yes, sir, it did.

Senator MONDALE. What happened?

Mr. SREBOTH. A large group of youngsters moved through the school building, apparently on a signal—we think on a signal—and proceeded to destroy property, smash windows, trophy cases, classroom doors, et cetera. Also security people were attacked and some youngsters were roughed up in the process and so on.

We moved very quickly to determine—and through due process procedure—the people who were guilty of participation. Those people were subsequently expelled from the school system or from the program of activity at the high school.

Senator MONDALE. Were they white or black?

Mr. SREBOTH. They were black people. I would say that was probably the most significant of all of the incidents that occurred.

There were other isolated cases that have occurred from time to time. However, again, as I pointed out earlier, if we had had the facility, some of this might have been avoided. If we were not forced to do this half-day session, or forced to putting a large number of students in a building that it was not capable of handling, then some of these things may have been avoided.

But this had built up over a period of time. I would say this was our most serious incident.

I might say, however, in my own view, because of the action of the board and the administration in this particular case, in dealing with the offenders, again going through the procedures that were set forth as due process, that the climate has improved tremendously.

I may be prejudiced in that, but I think that we have a much better atmosphere among our student body, among our staff and so on. I just think—an ill wind does not blow someone some good—it is too bad it had to come about in this manner, but I think it is an improvement as a result.

Senator MONDALE. What grievances did those youngsters express?

BLACK STUDENT GRIEVANCES

Mr SREBOTH. Prior to that we had some of the generally typical kind of grievances, the matter of Afro history, the matter of black staff, the arts, music, art and so on, to include more black activities, that kind of thing, black counsellors and so on.

I would say over the years we have been moving to correct those, putting students on the board of education.

We had, last year, subsequent to that, two youngsters on the board. We have two youngsters on the board this year, as nonvoting members. This type of thing.

I would say they are the typical demands that urban school principals have received from their students over the years.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very, very much for your most useful contribution.

Our final panel this morning consists of a panel on rural education. Mr. Edward McKinney, Superintendent of Baldwin Public Schools, accompanied by Mr. Willam Mead, Title IV Coordinator; and Mr. M. Richard Miller, President of the Baldwin Education Association; and Mr. William Krieger, Superintendent of Schools in Mackinac, Michigan.

Our first witness is Mr. Edward McKinney, Superintendent of the Baldwin Public Schools.

You have a statement here which will be included in the record* as though read, and you may proceed as you wish.

STATEMENT OF EDWARD C. McKINNEY, SUPERINTENDENT, BALDWIN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, ACCOMPANIED BY WILLIAM MEAD, ADVISORY SPECIALIST, HUMAN RELATIONS, TITLE IV COORDINATOR; AND RICHARD MILLER, PRESIDENT, BALDWIN EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, BALDWIN, MICH.

Mr. McKINNEY. Thank you, Senator Mondale.

To my right is William Mead, Advisory Specialist in Human Relations. Bill is working with us through a grant under Section IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

To my left is Richard Miller who is president of the Baldwin Education Association.

We are pleased to be here this morning and present this testimony.

One of the first questions I am always asked is, Where is Baldwin?

Senator MONDALE. I found out.

Mr. McKINNEY. Thank you. In order to make that clear, you notice that I included a figure 1 which does show where Baldwin is. We are north of Grand Rapids and south of Traverse City.

People who know any thing about the Baldwin area associate it with vacation land, our beautiful forests, our trout streams, and our lakes. I would like to assure you, Senator Mondale and my colleagues from Michigan, that being Superintendent of Schools in Baldwin is not the same as being on vacation.

We are a small school district and we are rural. I have included a figure on the school district boundaries. We have a large area of almost 370 square miles. This school district came into existence in 1965 through consolidation, and at that time a number of areas that were essentially all black were taken in.

Harold Nichols, who was superintendent at that time and is now the intermediate district superintendent, has included for your information a full report on the consolidation, and you will find that in the appendix.

BALDWIN DEMOGRAPHY

The Baldwin area has stayed just about constant in total population. Our county population in 1970 was 5,600. We are unusual in many respects in that we have a very atypical age distribution. You will note on page 6, figure 3, that we have a very large older population. As a matter of fact, 25 percent of our population is 60 years of age or older as compared to 12.3 percent for the State of Michigan.

The thing that really hurts us, I believe, as a school district is that if we look at the age group 15 through 60, the working-age group, we have a low percent of our population in this bracket.

People have left Baldwin and have gone to the cities and to the suburbs and other areas where there is more work. This has left us

*See prepared statement, p. 9753.

with an atypical population—reduced in the working-age group—and a much older population, many of whom are retired.

I am sure the reason that we are invited here today is because of the fact that we have a large black population. In the county some 30 percent of our population are black while in our schools 44 percent are black. As in most places the blacks and the whites tend to live in different areas.

On page 7, figure 4, you will see that there are four townships where most of our black population live. It is interesting to note how this large black population got to Baldwin in the first place, a town that many people do not know about.

Back in 1915 a large effort was made to develop a city here. There was a great dream to build a city here of 100,000 people—blacks, and it got started.

During the late 1920's and the early 1930's this was a prime resort area for blacks. In fact, many people throughout Michigan can recall going to Idlewild, which is the town, to hear some of the best entertainers in the country, and it was a prime spot for blacks to vacation and go for entertainment.

I think the thing that probably happened is that with the passage of the Civil Rights Acts and the opening of opportunities for blacks to go to other places, Idlewild failed, and as a consequence, many blacks who came to this area very early have been essentially trapped with few sources of employment at this time.

The employment situation at best is very bleak. We run about twice the State average on unemployment. Typically our unemployment rate is around 12 percent. You will find on page 10 a graph showing what happens in Baldwin as far as unemployment goes. I think these figures are actually understated. I think many people have given up looking for work. There is none.

Family incomes are very, very poor. As you can see from page 9, in 1968 almost 40 percent of our families had incomes of under $3,000 a year. Very few had incomes in the middle ranges of up to $9,000 compared to the State, and only about 11 percent of our population have family incomes of over $10,000 as compared to 40 percent throughout the State of Michigan. This is a very serious situation.

The fact that we don't have people in the upper-income levels is a result of the fact that we do not have white collar jobs available. We do not have any corporate headquarters. We do not have any factories that pay premium wages. We do not have an assembly plant. Many marginal jobs are derived from tourism; the people who are earning decent wages are probably working for the State or Federal Government or the county. Baldwin is the county seat.

Health conditions are bad. We now have a health center bringing health services to the people.

Our people are under-educated. We have large numbers of people who have zero to 8 years of education. In fact, 53 percent. Many of these people, of course, are the older people. They just never went to school when they were children.

But, even as we get up into the level of high school graduation, and particularly when we get up to the level of college graduation, you will find that we have only about half as many college graduates as the State of Michigan in general, and certainly we are not like a

suburb where every other house has a college graduate and every third block has a Ph. D.

Senator MONDALE. What percentage of your students went on to college?

Mr. MCKINNEY. This last year, from the information I have, shows that about 70 percent of our students went on. However, I think that is a very bad figure. That information was obtained before commencement. I believe the students were under intense pressure to say that they were going on to college. Many said they were going, but I have no followup data to indicate how many actually went and what success they experienced.

Senator MONDALE. What is your dropout percentage?

Mr. MCKINNEY. It is not high. I believe we are running at about 6 percent.

POOR ECONOMIC SITUATION INCREASED STUDENTS

Now, to go to the schools themselves, our enrollments have tended to stay steady, although this year we took an unexpected increase of 70 students. I attribute much of this increase to the poor economic conditions throughout the country. I think people have left the cities and have come back to areas like Baldwin. This is part of the reason why they are here. It is probably better to be out of work in Baldwin than it is to be out of work in Detroit.

Senator MONDALE. Why is that? Because you have a rural base?

Mr. MCKINNEY. I think we have less expensive living conditions, particularly in terms of housing. I guess poverty may be a little easier to take in a beautiful setting than it is in a ghetto area in a city.

Senator MONDALE. And they have little garden plots and they can hunt and things like that?

Mr. MCKINNEY. That is correct.

Senator MONDALE. We have an area in northern Minnesota where people have an alternative of at least living.

Mr. MCKINNEY. I think the living is better in Baldwin.

We have four school buildings. We range from a two-room school building to a 30-room combination elementary-secondary school. Our facilities are a mess. I understand that some were built as a last minute move to avoid consolidation, and now we are stuck with those facilities, many of which are inadequate in terms of total program.

During the last 2 years we have been successful in attracting more black teachers into Baldwin at the elementary level. We find that this year that the school system has a staff racial balance approximately equal to that of the students.

At the secondary level considerable improvement has been made, but we still do not have blacks in the proportion of the students.

I should say that I was not superintendent of Baldwin until August 1 of this year, so this was a result of the previous superintendent's effort.

I would like to point out student achievement. On page 21, table 11, you see that we did very, very poorly on the Michigan Assessment Test. We had the dubious distinction of doing second worst in the State. We were number two, and I believe the city of Detroit was number seven, and all of the other districts were considerably higher than

we were. This is a very serious state of affairs. I am very concerned about this.

We do have a $46,400 Section 3 grant which we are plowing into additional teachers, teacher aides, and teaching materials to attempt to individualize instruction, give more attention to every student. I am optimistic that we are going to improve in this area. However, it is a serious problem.

I do not think we can let things like this continue and say that we are going to send students out of Baldwin schools with an equal educational opportunity when they have to enter college and the world of work and compete with students from other areas.

Going on to another item, busing, I would like to point out that we bus our students to school. With 370 square miles, they could not get there otherwise.

Senator MONDALE. That national busing dispute must seem a little strange to you, doesn't it?

Mr. MCKINNEY. Yes. We have been busing for years.

The thing I would like to point out about the busing issue in Michigan is that direct reports have reached me from our neighbors in Cadillac, Ludington, Big Rapids and so forth that they are pretty shook up over there. They think we are going to bus some of our black children over to their schools. So, busing is an issue in Baldwin, at least as far as our neighbors are concerned. There is a lively set of rumors circulating around about.

FINANCIAL CRISIS

Going on to school finance, we are in very serious trouble in terms of school finance. Over the period of the last 2 years the schools have overspent their cash income by $80,000 to $100,000 per year. This year we are in the process of overspending by that same amount.

Senator MONDALE. What is your per-pupil expenditure level?

Mr. MCKINNEY. Our per-pupil expenditure on the basis of strictly local and State funds would run at about $775 per pupil.

Senator MONDALE. How does it work out with other funds, the total?

Mr. MCKINNEY. With the other funds thrown in we are going to be higher than that, we are going to be running in the high $800's, probably around $875 per pupil.

I would like to make a distinction about those funds that go directly into instruction and those that are used for other purposes. For example, we do have the grant under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act. I is very important because the goals we are trying to achieve through this program are significant and worthwhile. We hope they will have an impact in the classroom. However, it is not money being spent in the classroom.

Senator MONDALE. If you look at Title I and Title III money in the State, that goes into instruction.

Mr. MCKINNEY. That is right.

Senator MONDALE. Disregarding Title IV, how much would you have?

Mr. MCKINNEY. Close to $825.

We have an unusual situation on our hands. We have a very high State equalized valuation and a very poor population. We have nearly

$30,000 State equalized valuation per pupil, much of which is represented by vacation cottages of people who do not send students to our schools, and yet our permanent residents tend to be very poor.

Senator MONDALE. Are you permitted to tax those who own the vacation cottages?

Mr. MCKINNEY. Yes. But our millage is very low, 14.5 mills. That millage will have to go up.

I am pleased to tell you that on Monday night the board of education met and we have decided we are going to ask for 10 additional mills on December 20. If we do not get it, I think the schools will close by March or April. We have exhausted our borrowing capacity and we are going to be out of money.

I might just throw something in here—I have mentioned in jest to a good many people—that you might consider, Senator Mondale. I am only half serious when I say this. This is based on a number of experiences.

Let me tell you one other thing before I tell you my proposal. We are in an athletic conference and that athletic conference was dissolved right out from underneath us and reformed with the same teams, excluding Baldwin. I really think that the primary reason for that happening is racism.

We all know that certain things are bad for people, like tobacco and alcohol, and they are taxed very highly. I think racism is bad for people, and perhaps we should tax it. In jest, I would like to suggest that we levy a tax of 2 mills on our neighbors. We are happy with our children in Baldwin, but maybe we should tax some of those who are not.

RACISM AN IMPORTANT FACTOR

We are doing quite a few things to solve our problems in Baldwin. Racism was an important factor. Race is always a factor in every decision.

I think this year, as far as the children are concerned, particularly at the secondary school, we have the children together. I see some very, very positive things happening with students, black and white.

Bill Mead has been extremely helpful, as has the high school principal, Kent Reynolds. I think we have gotten the children together. I think we have a lot of good things going. The real hard problem that I see is how are we going to finance the kind of programs that we need to get these children through our schools so that they are in a competitive position with other segments of our society.

I am talking about our black children and our white children because they are all trapped in the same area. We have to get these children through school with equal educational opportunities so that they are in firm competitive positions when they leave. That is what we are trying to do. We are trying to work with the community, with the staff, with the students, in a very positive way to pull things together to make Baldwin a place that we can be proud of.

We are proud of the fact that we are an integrated school. In fact, this year during our football season we came up with a little pin that really exemplifies what we are talking about. I would like to leave this with you. It says "Baldwin has soul." And we do.

If you have some questions I would be glad to respond, or my colleagues.

STATEMENT PREPARED FOR

UNITED STATES SENATE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

NOVEMBER 3, 1971

SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE, CHAIRMAN

BY

Edward C. McKinney, Superintendent
Baldwin Community Schools
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PART I. GENERAL BACKGROUND DATA

A. LOCATION AND SCHOOL DISTRICT BOUNDARIES

Location

The Baldwin Community Schools are located in Lake and Newaygo Counties, a rural area of northwestern lower Michigan. The district centers on the Village of Baldwin, at the intersection of highways M-37 and M-10, 75 miles north of Grand Rapids, 66 miles south of Traverse City, 35 miles east of Ludington on Lake Michigan, and 60 miles west of Clare, and highway I-75. Figure 1 shows the district's location within Michigan.

School District Boundaries

The school district is elongated in the north-south direction and encompasses an area of over 370 square miles. It includes all or part of the following townships: Cherry Valley, Eden Elk, Lake, Peacock, Pleasant Plains, Sauble, Sweetwater, Webber and Yates in Lake County; Lilley and Merrill in Newaygo County. Boundaries of the school district are detailed in Figure 2.

B. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS[1]

Population Trends

The county's 1940 population was 4,795 and the 1950 population was 5,257. This was an increase of 9.6 percent. Between 1950 and 1960 the population increased from 5,257 to 5,338 or an increase of 1.5 percent. During these two decades, the state population increased 21.2 percent and 22.8 percent respectively.

Population began to decline during the 1960 decade from 5,338 to 4,978 in 1965. Much of the population decrease is attributable to the working age bracket who are outmigrating from the county for better job opportunities. This leaves a larger number of persons, in comparison to the state, in the older age brackets and contributes to higher welfare and health expenditures, a lower tax base, and other development problems.

Recent studies (Lake County Planning Commission, 1971) show a 1970 Lake County population of 5,661, a 6.1 percent increase of the decade 1960-70. (See Table 1). From these data it can

1. Most of the data reported throughout are based on Lake County. Trends reported for Lake County are representative of the school district, including the Newaygo County townships.

Figure 1: LOCATION OF BALDWIN IN RELATION TO OTHER CITIES IN MICHIGAN

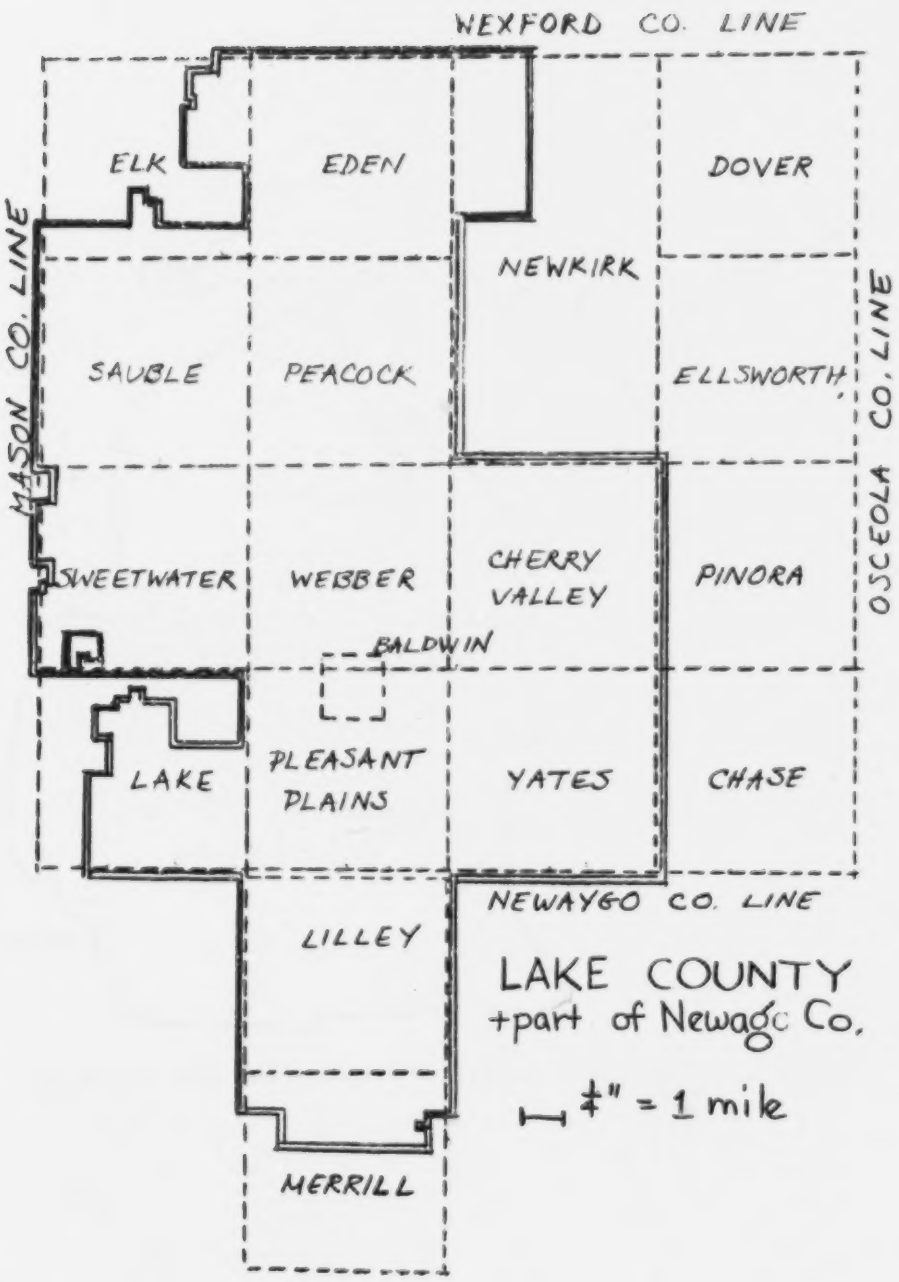


Figure 2: Baldwin Community School District

TABLE 1
POPULATION PROJECTIONS
LAKE COUNTY
1970-2000

Projection	Actual 1950	1960	1970	Projected 1980	1990
Low Series	5,257	5,338	5,661	5,900	6,100
Numerical Change	-	81	323	239	200
Percent Change	-	1.5	6.1	4.2	3.4
High Series	5,257	5,338	5,661	6,100	6,600
Numerical Change	-	81	323	439	500
Percent Change	-	1.5	6.1	7.8	8.2

TABLE 2
WORK FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT ESTIMATES
BY PLACE OF BUSINESS
LAKE COUNTY
1965 to 1970

Categories	Year 1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Total Work Force	1,650	1,550	1,525	1,475	1,450	1,625
Unemployed	125	150	150	200	175	200
% of Total	7.6	9.7	10.1	13.6	10.7	12.3
Employed	1,525	1,400	1,375	1,275	1,275	1,425
Agriculture	150	150	150	125	125	125
Self-Employed	775	700	625	575	575	625
Manufacturing	100	50	75	50	75	150
Non-Manufacturing	250	275	300	275	275	250
Government	225	225	225	225	225	275

Source: Michigan Employment Security Commission, Research and Statistics Division.

be inferred that growth will be relatively slow during the coming decade.

Age Distribution

Lake County has a higher proportion of its population over age 45 than is true of the state as a whole (See figure 3). While 12.3 percent of the state's population in 1965 is estimated to have been age 60 or over, in Lake County the percentage was 25.5 percent, or over two times higher.

Lake County also has a small proportion of its total population in the 15-44 year age group. In 1965 39.2 percent of the state's population is estimated to have been between 15-44, while Lake County had 29.0 percent of its population in this age grouping. This means that the proportion of the population which is in the labor force is smaller that that for the state as a whole, that the income level of the county will be lower and that the burdens placed upon the working age groups by the "dependent" age groups (in terms of education, hospitals, welfare) will be greater than those experienced by the average county.

There is little reason, at this time, to expect any significant changes by 1980 in the age distribution of Lake County's population. Current estimates for 1980 indicate there will be 28.4 percent of the population ages 0-14, 22 percent ages 15-29, 15.4 percent ages 30-44, 12.2 percent ages 45-59 and 22.0 percent age 60 and over. This reflects the current situation with little or no change.

Racial Composition

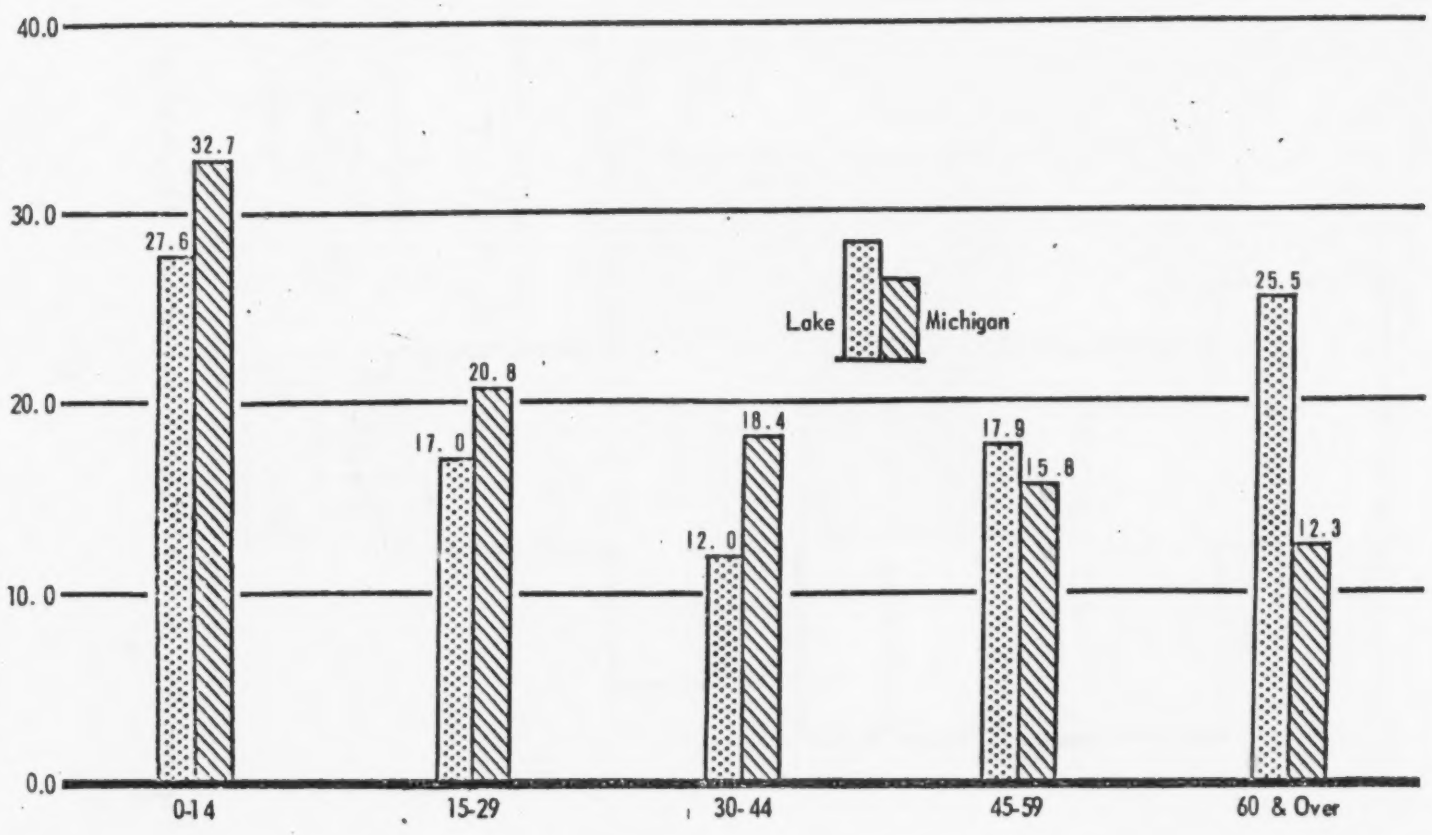
The racial components of the population are an important demographic characteristic. In 1966, 32.1 percent of the population of Lake County was Black. Lake County has a higher percentage non-white population than 80 percent of the 3,135 United States counties. The percentage of Blacks in 1950 was 24.8, and in 1960 it was 26.6.

Blacks and whites tend to concentrate in different residential areas, although there are numerous instances of integrated housing patterns throughout the central part of the school district. Figure 4 provides estimates of areas that are more that 90 percent Black.

The schools have a much higher percent of black students than the total population figures indicate. In recent years the student body has been approximately 55 percent white and 45 percent black. These figures are partly a consequence of the typical age distributions in the county and the out-migration of young whites to areas offering better employment opportunities. Also, some black students do not live with their natural parents, but live with relatives or guardians.

FIGURE 3: AGE DISTRIBUTION AS PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION

Lake County and State of Michigan



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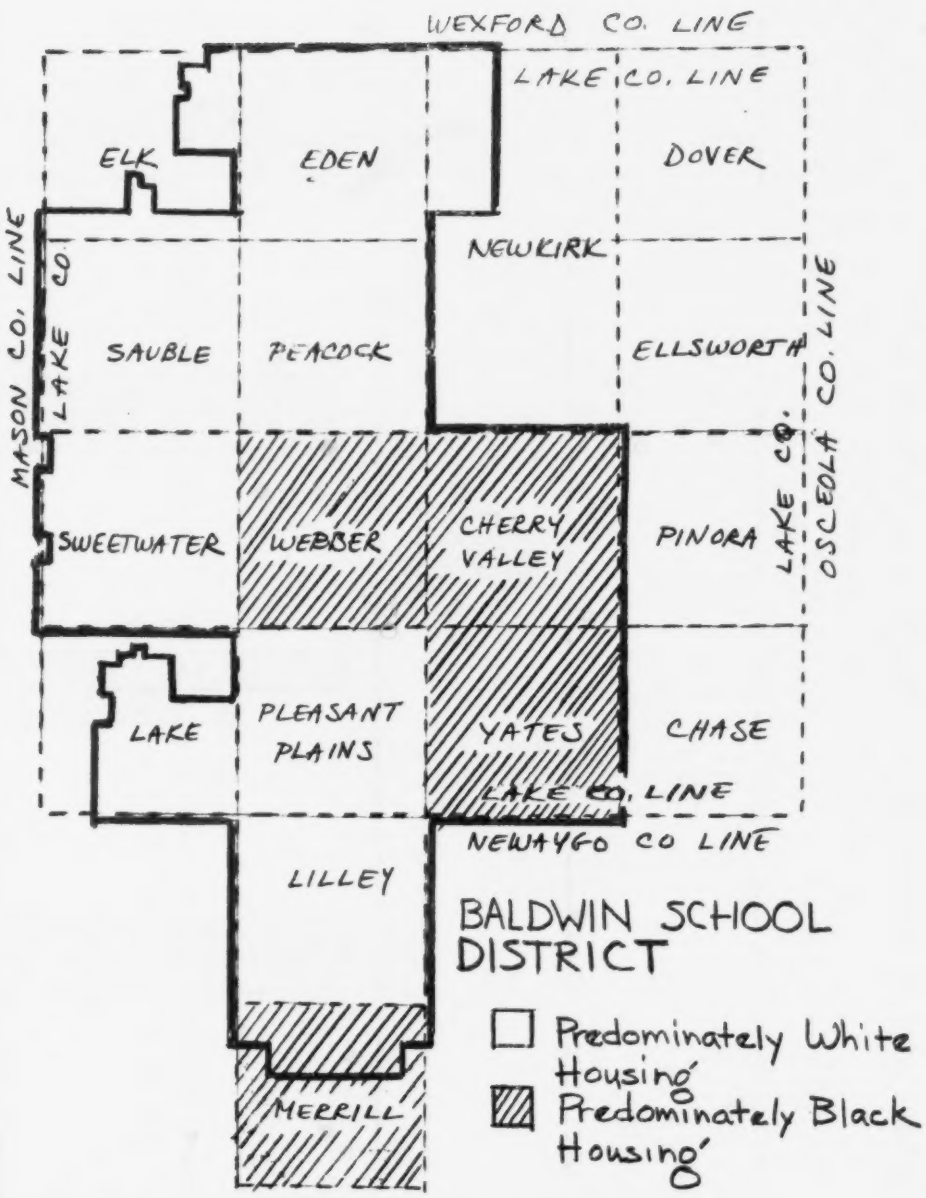

Figure 4: Racial Distribution by Township

C. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Employment

The pattern of employment is shown in Table 2. A decline of major proportions was experienced in agricultural employment which dropped from 651 to 164 workers during the two decades 1940-1960. On the other hand, construction grew from 69 to 176 workers, lumber and wood product manufacturing from 22 to 91 workers, miscellaneous manufacturing from 11 to 86 workers, medical and other services from 70 to 115 workers, and retail trade reflected an upward trend. On balance, the county suffered because of a poor industry mix. That is, Lake County's industries, mainly agriculture, were slow growing all over the nation, and by having workers in slow growth industries the dice were loaded against Lake County in recent decades.

Related to a poor industry structure is the occupational structure. The occupations which predominate are those which did not enjoy strong growth. While 14 percent in Michigan were employed in professional and kindred occupations, the percent in Lake County was 7 percent in 1960. And, as expected, the proportion in the types of employment which are sluggish, such as laborers, farmers, and operatives was high.

The remainder of the labor story follows this script. Labor force particiaption, those working or looking for work, is low, both for males and females. Why enter the labor force if the prospects are dim? Also the age structure reflects a persistent lack of opportunity since there are more older persons than younger people in the labor force.

What is the net effect of these factors: slow growth, and an older work force? Unemployment has consistently exceeded the state's unemployment by double the state rate in recent years. Even worse, the picture would have been more dismal if recent out-migrants would have remained and found no employment, or if those not now in the labor force would enter and not find work. Lake County unemployment is shown vividly in Figure 6.

Family Income

The low family incomes in the area are vividly illustrated in Figure 5. In 1968, the typical Lake County household had $5,719 of effective buying income, as apposed to $10,899 for the State of Michigan. In that year, 39.2 percent of household had effective buying income under $3,000, and comparatively few have incomes over $10,000.

D. HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

Health

In 1962 Lake County had two practicing physicians, no dentists, no pharmacist, no registered nurses, and no hospital

FIGURE 5: ESTIMATED INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD
Lake County and State of Michigan
1968

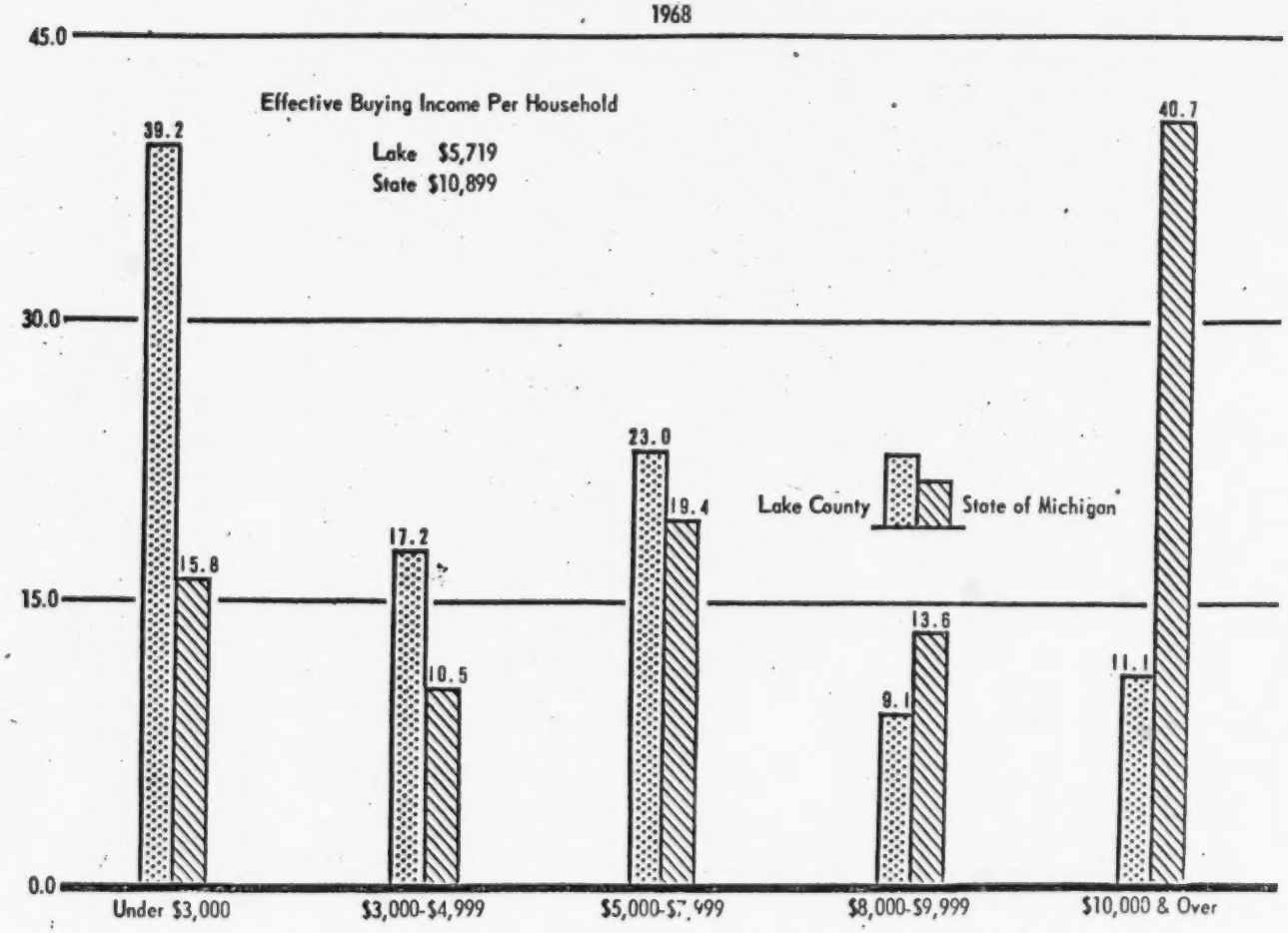

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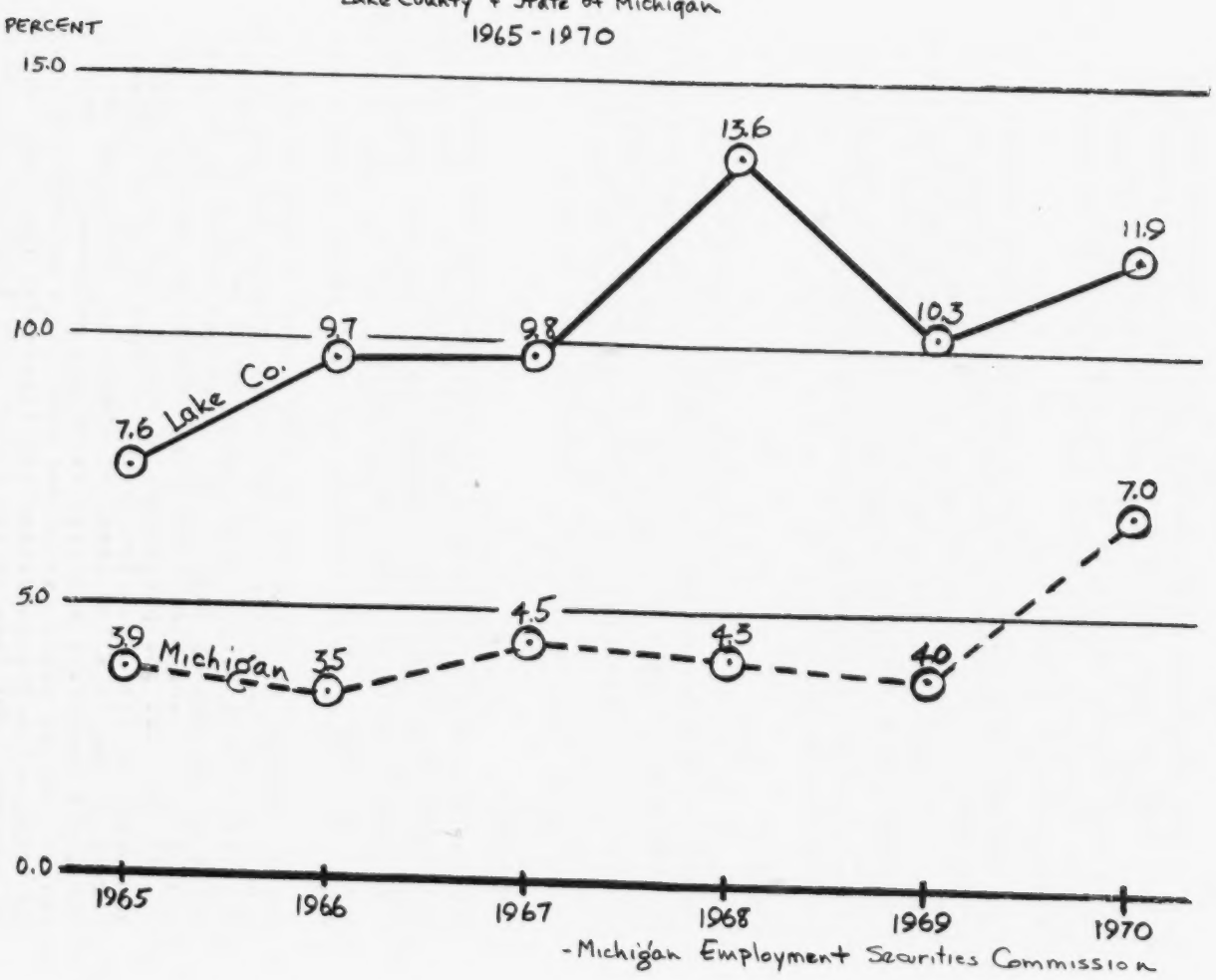
Figure 6: RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT
Lake County + State of Michigan
1965 - 1970



- Michigan Employment Securities Commission

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beds. The situation has improved somewhat with the Health Center (OEO funded) making a major contribution to community health. 1968 data on the population physician ratio (Table 3) shows that county residents do not have adequate health facilities available, while Table 4 shows the high incidence of certain chronic diseases.

Lake County has a much higher number of chronic disease occurrances per 100,000 in comparison to the state, in all instances except diabetic deaths. This coupled with the number of physicians and other professional personnel, places the county in a very difficult position. Continued efforts should be made to increase the health facilities and personnel for the County with specific service being provided for low-income persons.

Housing

Although no recent in-depth studies of housing have been conducted, specialist of District Health Department No. 5 and Western Michigan Comprehensive Health Services estimate that 26 percent of the housing in the area is substandard. In 1960 the mediam value of owner occupied housing units was $5,400. Much of the housing on the lower end of the scale is dilapidated and overcrowded. See appended letters.

Education

The county's adult population lags far behind the rest of the state in educational achievement (Figure 7). The median year of school completed by males age 25 and over was 8.5 in Lake County while in 1960 the comparable figure for the state was 10.4 years. The figures for females show similar differences, 8.9 years in the county, and 11.1 years in the state.

The major part of a lag can be ascribed to a lack of high school education on the part of a majority of the population. Over 60 percent of the males and over 50 percent of the females in the county (age 25 and over) had either no formal education or less than a 9th grade education in 1960. The result was that the percentage of people with an 8th grade education or less exceeded the state average by 60 percent. Corresponding to a low level of elementary education are low levels of secondary and post-secondary achievement. Only 8 percent of the males age 25 and over had a college education in 1960, while the corresponding figure for the state exceeded 15 percent. For females the figure were 8 percent in the county and 15 percent in the state.

These relatively low levels of education achievement are a partial result of the county's age distribution. It will be recalled from previous discussion that a disproportionatley large percentage of Lake County's population is age 65 and above. When these people were of school age, education was considered less important than it is today; it was also more difficult to obtain.

TABLE 3

POPULATION/PHYSICIAN RATIO - 1968

	LAKE	MANISTEE	MASON	NEWAYGO	TOTAL
NUMBER OF -					
Physicians	3	15	19	14	51
Therapist	0	0	0	0	0
Hospital Beds	0	95	76	79	250
Families	1,575	6,056	6,637	7,119	16,987
Low-Income Families	465	863	871	1,338	3,587
Registered Nurses	14	110	118	108	350
Licensed Practical Nurses	8	30	70	31	139
Migrant Population	0	3,135	865	1,500	5,500
Ratio of Physicians to Population	1/1700	1/1300	1/1100	1/1800	

TABLE 4

CHRONIC DISEASE INCIDENCE
1967, 1968

	MANISTEE	MASON	OCEANA	LAKE	NEWAYGO	STATE
Heart disease death rate per 100,000 population	615.4	561.6	422.4	1,116.3	396.1	333.8
Cancer death rate per 100,000 population	230.8	210.0	205.0	441.9	188.2	151.2
Death rate from vascular lesions affecting nervous system per 100,000 population (Stroke)	138.5	105.0	186.3	232.6	105.9	91.1
Diabetic death rate per 100,000 population	46.2	32.0	31.1	23.6	31.4	25.3

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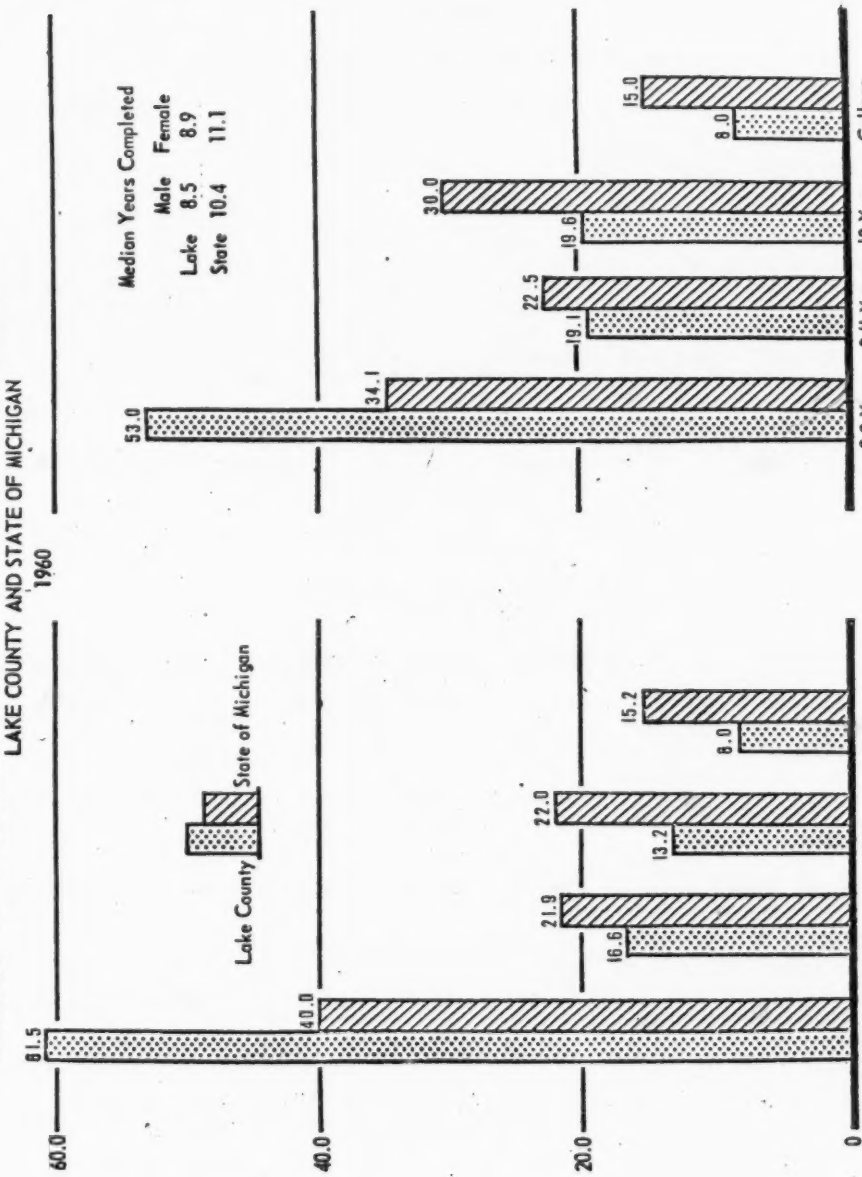
FIGURE 7: YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY POPULATION AGE 25 AND OVER
LAKE COUNTY AND STATE OF MICHIGAN
1960



Welfare

Welfare expenditures in Lake County have risen drastically in the past few years. In 1968 they totaled 262,445 and in 1969 reached $328,515. The expenditure in 1970 is shown in Table 5

TABLE 5

EXPENDITURES FOR WELFARE

Old Age Assistance	$151,014.00
Aid to Blind	4,992.00
Aid to Disabled	75,320.00
Aid to Dependent Children	186,408.00
Total	$417,734.00

These figures represent aid to an unusually large number of persons, considering that approximately 5,700 persons reside in the county. Table 6 summarizes the number of persons receiving welfare support.

TABLE 6

ÆRSONS SERVED UNDER WELFARE

Old Age Assistance	176	persons
Aid to the Blind	6	"
Aid to the Disabled	123	"
Medical Assistance	307	"
Child Welfare	16	"
General Assistance	15	"
Aid to Dependent Children	544	"
Surplus Commodities	602	"
Total Participants	1,789	"

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PART II. THE SCHOOLS-DESCRIPTIVE DATA

A. ENROLLMENT TRENDS

The enrollment in the schools has increased steadily, partly as a result of consolidation. The last annexation was in 1965, so growth since that time is attributable to population increase and in-migration. Enrollment is summarized in Table 7.

TABLE 7

YEAR	ENROLLMENT
1964-65	735
1965-66	661
1966-67	890
1967-68	943
1968-69	949
1969-70	946
1970-71	971
1971-72	1041

B. LOCATION AND SIZE OF SCHOOLS

There are four physical buildings in the school district, ranging in size from a two room elementary building to a thirty room combination elementary secondary school. A four room elementary school and seven room elementary complete the facilities.

Table 8 summarizes the building data, while Figure 8 shows the location.

TABLE 8

School	Date	Classrooms	Grades
Baldwin			
Elementary	1954	10	K-4
Secondary	1959	20	7-12
Bitely	1958	2	K-3
Nelson	1963	4	K-3
Yates	1961	7	5-6

C. RACIAL COMPOSITION

Staff

Within the past few years the Baldwin Community Schools have made some major strides in achieving an integrated staff. Of the 15 new teachers in 1971-72, 7 are black, thus moving the school district towards a black-white ratio more appropriate for a school system that is 55% white, 44% black, and 1% other. All schools and areas of school employment are inte-

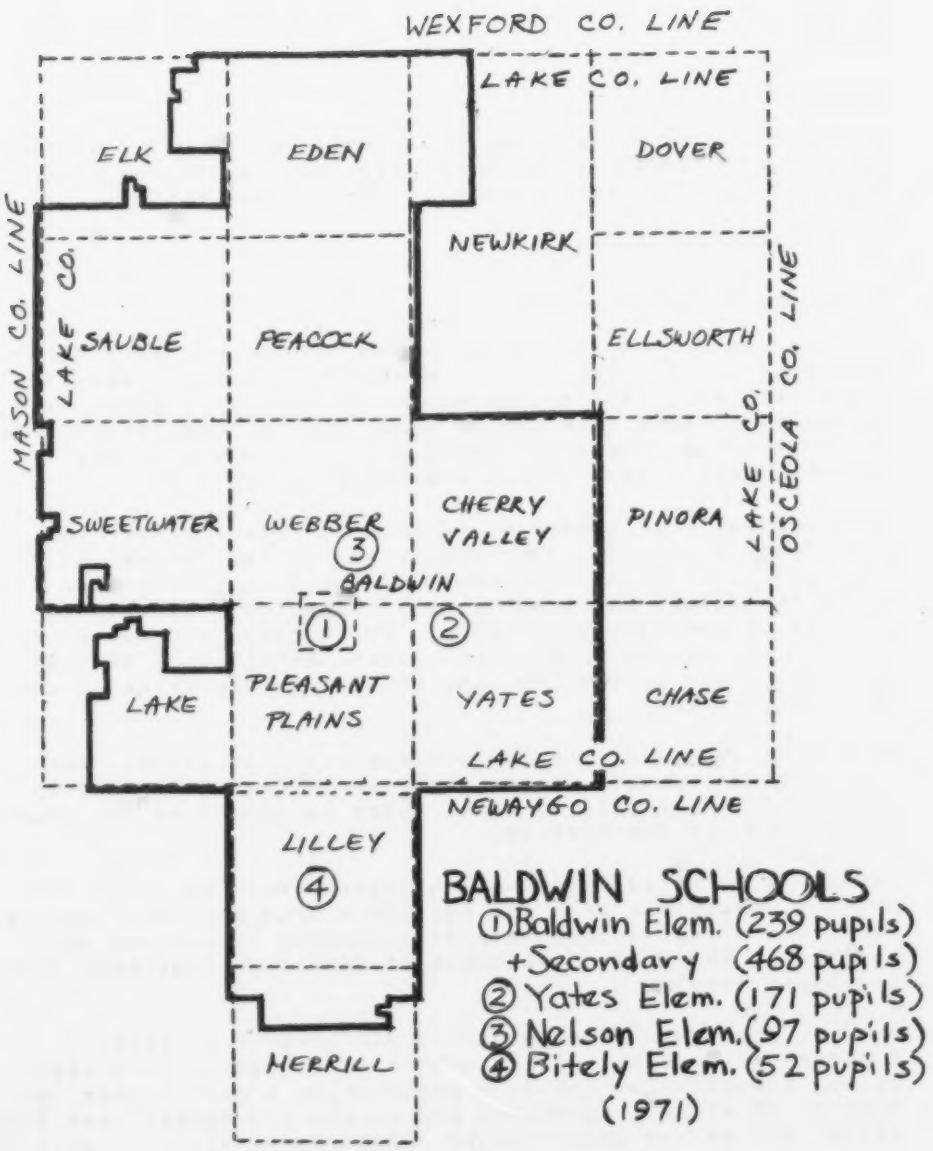

Figure 8; Location and Size of Baldwin Schools

grated. Table 9 shows the racial composition by employee groups.

Students

Every school is integrated, as is every classroom, with the exception of a few advanced elective courses at the high school. Table 10 shows the racial composition of each building.

D. STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT

Michigan Assessment Tests

The results on the 1970-71 Michigan Assessment Tests were extremely low in basic skills measures. Fourth grade results for vocabulary, reading, mechanics of written English, and mathematics, were all near or below the 1st percentile based on rural norms. Parallel results were obtained in the seventh grade. Test scores are shown in Table 9.

Attitude measures tended to be higher. In the area of importance of school achievement, 4th graders scored at the 92nd percentile and 7th graders at the 55th percentile; in self-perception, 4th graders at 87th percentile, and 7th graders at the 70th percentile. While these scores are above the median, scores in attitude toward school fell sharply, with 4th grade at the 14th percentile and 7th grade at the 26th percentile.

As a consequence of the low achievement test scores, the second lowest in the state, the Baldwin Community Schools qualified for $46,400 of funds under Section 3 of the State School Aid Act for 1971-72.

It should be noted that the achievement results in 1970-71 are not consistent with the results a year earlier. During 1969-70 the test scores were considerably higher and only appeals to the State Department of Education continued funding under Section 3.

Student test results show marked differences by race. Although an unusually large number of students, both black and white, scored below the 25th percentile, a much higher percentage of black than whites are in the low ranges, and few blacks are in the upper-ranges. Assessment tests results by race are summarized in Table 11.

Elementary Test Scores

One of the requirements under the 1971-72 Section 3 funding is that student achievement growth be demonstrated. Tests were administered to all children in grades K-6. They are summarized in Table 12.

TABLE 9 EMPLOYEES BY RACE

	1970 - 1971		1971 - 1972	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
ADMINISTRATION				
White	3	75%	2	50%
Black	0	0%	1	25%
Spanish American	1	25%	1	25%
Total	4	100%	4	100%
SECONDARY				
White	24	92%	21	80.7%
Black	2	8%	5	19.3%
Total	26	100%	26	100%
ELEMENTARY				
White	18	72%	14	60.8%
Black	7	28%	9	39.2%
Total	25	100%	23	100%
SECRETARIES				
White	5	100%	5	83.3%
Black			1	16.7%
Total	5	100%	6	100%
TEACHER AIDS				
White	4	66.6%	4	57.2%
Black	2	33.4%	3	42.8%
Total	6	100%	7	100%
BUS DRIVERS				
White	9	82%	9	82%
Black	2	18%	2	18%
Total	11	100%	11	100%

	1970 - 1971		1971 - 1972	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
CUSTODIANS				
White	6	67%	4	57%
Black	3	33%	3	43%
Total	9	100%	7	100%
KITCHEN HELP				
White	5	50%	5	71.4%
Black	5	50%	2	28.6%
Total	10	100%	7	100%

TABLE 10 ENROLLMENT BY RACE

	1970 - 1971		1971 - 1972	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
BITELY				
White	35	70%	35	67%
Black	15	30%	17	33%
Total	50	100%	52	100%
BALDWIN				
White	216	56.2%	132	55%
Black	169	43.4%	107	45%
Other	1	.4%	0	0
Total	389	100%	239	100%
NELSON				
White	52	57.7%	56	57.7%
Black	35	38.8%	39	40.2%
Other	3	3.5%	2	2.1%
Total	90	100%	97	100%
YATES				
White	73	50%	96	56.2%
Black	73	50%	75	43.8%
Total	146	100%	171	100%
BALDWIN HIGH SCHOOL				
White	143	56.3%	253	53.7%
Black	111	43.7%	212	45.0%
Other			6	1.3%
Total	254	100%	468	100%
GRAND TOTAL			GRAND TOTAL	
White	522	56.1%	572	55.5%
Black	403	43.6%	450	43.8%
Other	3	.3%	8	.7%

TABLE 11

MICHIGAN ASSESSMENT TEST RESULTS (January 1970)
4th Grade by Race

Test Results Percentile	Black		White		Total	
	Number	% Black	Number	% Whites	Number	% Total
0-25	35	83.3	20	51.3	45	55.6
26-50	2	4.8	9	23.1	11	13.6
51-75	4	9.5	5	12.8	9	11.1
76-100	1	2.4	5	12.8	6	7.4
Total	42	100.0	39	100.0	81	
Average Score		15%		32%		23%

TABLE 12

ELEMENTARY TESTS SCORES, OCTOBER, 1971

Grade	Test	Percentile	Black	White
Kindergarten	Stanford Early School Achievement	0-25	17	6
		26-74	13	19
		75-100	1	11
			31	36
First	Stanford Early School Achievement	0-25	12	4
		26-74	12	25
		75-100	2	8
			26	37
Second	Californinia Achievement Test	1 yr. below	10	3
		.9 below-.9 above	22	44
		1 yr. above	0	1
			32	48
Third	Californinia Achievement Test	1 yr. below	14	17
		.9 below-.9 above	17	25
		1 yr. above	0	1
			31	43
Four	Californinia Achievement Test	1 yr. below	8	8
		.9 below-.9 above	17	30
		1 yr. above	2	9
			27	47
Five	Californinia Achievement Test	1 yr. below	25	14
		.9 below-.9 above	15	22
		1 yr. above	1	2
			41	38
Six	Californinia Achievement Test	1 yr. below	10	16
		.9 below-.9 above	12	31
		1 yr. above	0	5
			22	52

Secondary Course Enrollments

Secondary school enrollments in most areas reflect the 55% white-45% black ratio in the schools. Some areas in which whites are predominately represented are advanced math and science, band, art, and advanced industrial arts. Noteworthy is the fact that 18 blacks and 3 whites are in special education. Enrollments are summarized in Table 13.

TABLE 13

SECONDARY STUDENT ENROLLMENT BY CURRICULAR AREAS

CURRICULAR AREA	TOTAL	BLACK	WHITE
ADVANCED MATH & SCIENCE	63	13	50
ALGEBRA	97	48	49
LOWER HIGH SCHOOL MATH	52	21	30
BUSINESS MATH	49	26	23
OTHER SCIENCE	142	66	76
BUSINESS	248	122	126
CO-OP TRAINING	31	12	19
TYPING, SHORTHAND, BOOKEEPING (Secretarial)	115	53	62
BAND	108	34	74
ART	78	28	50
HOMEMAKING	72	44	28
SHOP-SMALL ENGINES-GRAPICS Furniture Refinishing	145	45	100
DRAFTING	47	16	31
SPANISH	83	42	41
DRAMATICS & SPEECH	77	47	30
PHYSICAL EDUCATION	326	168	158

TABLE 13 (con't)

JR. HIGH LOW MATH	66	31	35
REGULAR MATH	58	21	37
JR. HIGH ENGLISH BASIC SKILLS	74	37	37
SPECIAL EDUCATION	21	18	3

E. CONTINUING EDUCATION

Data readily available indicates that a 72 percent of the graduating class of 1971 went on to post-secondary education. However, these data represent intention just prior to graduation, and not actual enrollments. Therefore, they probably considerably overstate the actual case. No follow-up data is available to verify the situation. Table 14 summarizes continuing education for 1970 and 1971 graduates.

F. BUSSING

Because of the large area (370 square miles), over 82% of the students are bussed to school. Some students are picked up as early as 7:00 A.M. in order to get to school by 8:20 A.M. Although the district extends 18 miles north and 14 miles south of Baldwin, the longest bus routes are 60 miles in length. Bus routes are generally integrated, but several have few blacks or whites. Bus route data is summarized in Table 15.

G. SCHOOL FINANCE

The Baldwin Community Schools have a state equalized valuation of $30,752,811 in 1971. Based on a student membership of 1041, this is a S. E. V. of $29,570 per pupil. The millage levy for schools (6.5 allocated, 8 extra voted) thus yields $428 per pupil, in theory. Current tax collection rates are between 75-80%, so many fewer dollars are available.

The schools' 1971-72 budget is similar to that of the past several yaars. Table 16 shows the major general fund budget amounts. Note that a cash deficiency of $98,283 exists at this time.

Additional data comparing the Baldwin Schools with other schools in the region is included in Tables 16-21.

TABLE 14

CONTINUING EDUCATION STATISTICS FOR
1970 and 1971 Graduates from BALDWIN HIGH SCHOOL

Key: M - male
F - female

1970 GRADUATES

	BLACK		WHITE		OTHER		TOTAL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Graduates attending a Four Year College	5	4	12	9	1	-0-	18	13
Graduates attending a Community College	4	-0-	-0-	-0-	1	-0-	5	-0-
Graduates attending a Trade-Technical College	3	1	2	-0-	-0-	-0-	5	1
Total Graduates attending college							28	14
Total number in graduating class	17	5	24	12	2	-0-	43	17

1971 GRADUATES

	BLACK		WHITE		OTHER		TOTAL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Graduates attending a Four Year College	4	7	3	8	-0-	1	7	16
Graduates attending a Community College	-0-	1	3	2	-0-	-0-	3	3
Graduates attending a Trade-Technical College	-0-	3	1	1	-0-	-0-	1	5
Total Graduates attending college							10	24
Total number in graduating class	6	16	10	14	-0-	1	16	31

TABLE 15

BUS ROUTES

ROUTE NUMBER	PRIMARY PICKUP	SECONDARY PICKUP	MILES ONE-WAY	NUMBER BLACK	NUMBER WHITE
1	Pleasant Plains	Yates	25	51	24
2	Yates	Webber	40	31	36
3	Yates	Pleasant Plains	40	89	1
4	Eden	Irons	60	24	44
5	Merrill	Lilly	60	47	35
6	Webber	Pleasant Plains	30	78	8
7	Home	Lilly	60	8	93
8	Lake	Pleasant Plains	50	0	71
9	Irons	Peacock	60	74	3
10	Webber	Pleasant Plains	20	65	4
11	Cherry Valley	Webber	45	25	50
	SUBTOTAL			492	369
	TOTAL			861	

TABLE 16

1971-72 SCHOOL BUDGET

RECEIPTS		EXPENDITURES	
Local	$439,992	Elementary	$221,481
State	191,134	Secondary	268,242
County	9,000	Special Education	35,011
Federal	29,700	Administration	49,395
TOTAL	$669,826	Health	3,090
		Transportation	77,500
		Operating	70,205
		Maintenance	4,700
		Fixed Changes	19,235
		Improvements	19,250
		TOTAL	$768,109

Budgeted Expenditures	$768,109
Receipts	669,826
CASH DEFICIENCY	$ 98,283

TABLE 17
MILLAGE FOR OPERATION 1969-70[1]
RANKED BY TOTAL
(Counties of Lake, Manistee, Mason, Muskegon, and Oceana)

District	Total Millage
Mona Shores	29.17
Muskegon	27.95
North Muskegon	27.20
Onekama	24.55
Ravenna	24.20
Reeths Puffer	24.20
Bear Lake	23.55
Mason County Eastern	23.38
Fruitport	22.20
Orchard View	21.60
Kaleva-Norman-Dickson	21.55
Ludington	20.88
Whitehall	20.70
Montague	20.20
Oakridge	20.00
Mason County Central	19.88
Holton	19.20
Muskegon Heights	19.20
Manistee	17.55
Hart	17.50
Pentwater	16.73
Walkerville	14.50
BALDWIN	14.05
Shelby	13.52

[1]The tax rate in mills applied to the state equalized valuation of the district to produce revenue for the operation of schools.

SOURCE: Bulletin 1012, Michigan Department of Education, December, 1970.

TABLE 18
RANKING OF AVERAGE TEACHER'S SALARY 1969-70[1]
(Counties of Lake, Manistee, Mason, Muskegon, and Oceana)

District	Salary	Rank in State[2]
Muskegon	$11,316	16
Manistee	10,264	68
Ludington	9,986	93
Mason County Eastern	9,964	94
Muskegon Heights	9,756	133
Hart	9,739	138
Bear Lake	9,680	154
North Muskegon	9,429	199
Whitehall	9,327	224
Mona Shores	9,317	228
Ravenna	9,229	252
Reeths Puffer	9,194	262
Orchard View	9,038	298
Shelby	9,021	307
Onekama	9,012	310
Montague	8,912	334
Fruitport	8,878	342
Mason County Central	8,770	368
Kaleva-Norman-Dickson	8,721	380
Pentwater	8,576	411
Holton	8,283	451
Walkerville	8,117	477
BALDWIN	7,959	494
Oakridge	7,662	508

[1]Computed by dividing total salaries of regular teachers in elementary, secondary, and special education by the related number of teaching positions.

[2]Of 527 K-12 districts.

SOURCE: Bulletin 1012, Michigan Department of Education, December, 1970.

TABLE 19
RANKING OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TOTAL PER PUPIL REVENUE AND TOTAL PER PUPIL EXPENDITURE 1969-70
(Counties of Lake, Manistee, Mason, Muskegon, and Oceana)

District	Amount[1]
BALDWIN	$-83.50
Muskegon Heights	-28.91
Mason County Central	-28.61
Mason County Eastern	-25.51
Fruitport	-21.86
Hart	-13.51
Mona Shores	- 5.89
Walkerville	- 5.79
Onekama	- 5.42
Shelby	- 2.83
Orchard View	- 2.78
Montague	- 1.58
Reeths Puffer	+10.19
Pentwater	+12.28
Ravenna	+13.34
Whitehall	+15.14
Manistee	+15.82
Holton	+22.27
Ludington	+25.93
Oakridge	+32.69
Bear Lake	+34.00
Kaleva-Norman-Dickson	+34.14
Muskegon	+34.59
North Muskegon	+35.51

[1] Minus figures indicate expense greater than revenue. Ranking begins with greates over-expenditure and concludes with greatest under-expenditure.

SOURCE: Bulletin 1012, Michigan Department of Education, December, 1970.

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TABLE 20
BA MINIMUM AND BA MAXIMUM SALARIES
BY DISTRICT IN MICHIGAN REGION 13*--1969-70

Rank	District	BA Min.	Rank	District	MA. Max.
1	Muskegon	$7,300	1	Muskegon	$11,826
2	Muskegon Heights	7,000	2	Muskegon Heights	11,340
3	Ludington	7,000	3	Mona Shores	10,830
4	Chippewa Hills	7,000	4	Orchard View	10,736
5	North Muskegon	6,950	5	Oakridge	10,734
6	Fremont	6,950	6	Reeths Puffer	10,626
7	Whitehall	6,925	7	Whitehall	10,525
8	Oakridge	6,929	8	North Muskegon	10,515
9	Big Rapids	6,900	9	Ludington	10,500
10	Manistee	6,900	10	Big Rapids	10,488
11	Mona Shores	6,900	11	Fruitport	10,480
12	Orchard View	6,900	12	Manistee	10,350
13	Reeths Puffer	6,900	13	Montague	10,344
14	Grant	6,900	14	Reed City	10,336
15	Newaygo	6,900	15	Fremont	10,300
16	White Cloud	6,900	16	White Cloud	10,296
17	Montague	6,850	17	Hart	10,200
18	Fruitport	6,850	18	Mason County Central	10,200
19	Hesperia	6,800	19	Ravenna	10,200
20	Ravenna	6,800	20	Newaygo	10,100
21	Holton	6,800	21	Hesperia	10,067
22	Mason County Central	6,800	22	Holton	10,064
23	Hart	6,800	23	Mason County Eastern	10,050
24	Shelby	6,800	24	Pentwater	10,000
25	Reed City	6,800	25	Evart	9,900
26	Evart	6,800	26	Shelby	9,900
27	Morley Stanwood	6,700	27	Grant	9,821
28	Marion	6,700	28	Morley Stanwood	9,700
29	Pine River	6,700	29	Chippewa Hills	9,600
30	Pentwater	6,700	30	Onekama	9,580
31	Mason County Eastern	6,700	31	Marion	9,450
32	Onekama	6,700	32	Pine River	9,447
33	Kaleva-Norman-Dickson	6,700	33	Kaleva-Norman-Dickson	9,413
34	Bear Lake	6,600	34	Bear Lake	9,350
35	Walkerville	6,500	35	Walkerville	9,100
36	BALDWIN	6,500	36	BALDWIN	8,770

SOURCE: Teacher Salary Schedule Study, 1969-70
Michigan Education Association

*Region 13 includes the following counties: Lake, Manistee, Mason, Mecosta, Muskegon, Newaygo, Oceana, and Osceola.

TABLE 21

MA MINUMUM AND MA MAXIMUM SALARIES
BY DISTRICT IN MICHIGAN REGION 13*--1969-70

Rank	District	BA Min.	Rank	District	MA Max.
1	Muskegon	$7,738	1	Muskegon	$12,994
2	Ludington	7,600	2	Mona Shores	12,448
3	Big Rapids	7,590	3	Ludington	12,160
4	Fruitport	7,535	4	Muskegon Heights	11,988
5	Grant	7,500	5	Orchard View	11,771
6	North Muskegon	7,492	6	Fruitport	11,576
7	Montague	7,487	7	Reeths Puffer	11,544
8	Fremont	7,475	8	Big Rapids	11,537
9	White Cloud	7,466	9	Manistee	11,470
10	Manistee	7,400	10	Oakridge	11,470
11	Muskegon Heights	7,400	11	North Muskegon	11,467
12	Newaygo	7,400	12	Whitehall	11,450
13	Oakridge	7,400	13	Montague	11,302
14	Reeths Puffer	7,400	14	Fremont	11,200
15	Shelby	7,400	15	Grant	11,102
16	Chippewa Hills	7,350	16	Reed City	11,026
17	Holton	7,344	17	Hart	11,000
18	Whitehall	7,341	18	Mason County Central	10,950
19	Orchard View	7,314	19	White Cloud	10,862
20	Evart	7,300	20	Newaygo	10,800
21	Hart	7,300	21	Ravenna	10,676
22	Hesperia	7,300	22	Pentwater	10,610
23	Mason County Central	7,300	23	Holton	10,608
24	Reed City	7,300	24	Hesperia	10,567
25	Ravenna	7,276	25	Mason County Estn.	10,550
26	Mason County Eastern	7,200	26	Chippewa Hills	10,500
27	Morley Stanwood	7,200	27	Shelby	10,500
28	Onekama	7,200	28	Kaleva-Norman-Dickson	10,416
29	Pentwater	7,200	29	Evart	10,400
30	Mona Shores	7,190	30	Morley Stanwood	10,200
31	Marion	7,169	31	Bear Lake	10,175
32	Kaleva-Norman-Dickson	7,100	32	Marion	10,112
33	Pine River	7,100	33	Onekama	10,080
34	Bear Lake	6,925	34	Pine River	10,011
35	BALDWIN	6,900	35	Walkerville	9,300
36	Walkerville	6,700	36	BALDWIN	9,170

SOURCE: Teacher Salary Schedule Study, 1969-70
Michigan Education Association

*Region 13 includes the following counties: Lake, Manistee, Mason, Mecosta, Muskegon, Newaygo, Oceana, and Osceola.

H. FEDERAL PROGRAMS 1971-72

Title I, ESEA

The Baldwin Schools are receiving assistance under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965. This year's program components are: reaching readiness; perceptual development; reading; counseling; work study; and tutoring. The grant for 1971-72 is $41,784.

Title IV, Civil Rights Act of 1964

This is the first year of the program under this act. The thrust of the program is in problem identification, staff desegregation, and curriculum relevancy. A pre-school workshop dealing with Baldwin's unique problems and black-white relationships has been completed. Continuing in-service education in human relations and integration is being conducted, as are activities to strengthen school-home ties. These activities are under the Advisory Specialist, who works closely with the Superintendent. The grant is $49,426.

NOTE: The Baldwin Community Schools participate in numerous other programs also.

PART III. THE SCHOOLS - CURRENT PROBLEMS

A. SCHOOL FINANCE

The major current problem facing tha school district from the superintendent's point of view is the financial crisis. When I took over as superintendent on August 1, 1971, the school district was in debt to the extent of $200,000, although few, if any, realized this was true.

These debts had accumulated over a period of years through deferring some $35,000 in payables to the present year, an unrepaid $77,000 loan against State aid, and borrowing from internal debt retirement funds. Further, the 1971-72 budget adopted by the Board of Education had been understated by about $70,000. All of these facts have come forcefully to hight since August, to the consternation and alarm of the Board, employees and citizens. If the school system continues operating at the same level through June 30, 1972, the deficiency will be approximatley $300,000, approximately 40% of our annual budget.

At this time it appears that there is no reasonable way to cut an $750,000 annual budget enough to solve the problem in 1971-72, or even 1971-1973, and still offer a program called "education". Few avenues are open with contracts signed, borrowing against anticipated taxes under question because of the unresolved legal question of property taxes, and the concomitant requirement to reduce the budget and the improbability of doing so in midyear.

If the problem is not resolved, by March or April the district will have exhausted all of its funds and be forced to close its doors. I have asked what happens if a school goes bankrupt? State authorities inform me that a school system cannot go bankrupt. The Baldwin Community Schools are far into the process of doing it.

Some of the pertinent statistical data on school finance will be found in Table 16. Note that we have a high state equalized valuation per pupil nearly $30,000, but only 14.5 mills. The low tax rate is related to the low economy and income levels of the area. Also, the schools collect only about 80% of their taxes during the year, and last June 30 there was $187,000 of delinquent taxes on the books.

The Baldwin Schools are in trouble - deep, deep trouble.

B. RACIAL CONFLICT

Although the Baldwin Schools are small and rural, they share the problems of urban centers. Racial conflict is a

reality. Last year the schools closed for several days because of student unrest triggered by interracial incidents and community tensions.

When school opened in September the tensions were high. The school was close to blowing again. The school administration worked closely with student leaders - black and white - and arranged to let the students talk. No holds barred, the kids let it all hang out. In the end the students decided that they had to get themselves together - black and white - and make the school work. The price of failing to make it work was too high for either group to pay. To a remarkable extent they are making it. There is reason for optimism.

C. STUDENT BEHAVIOR

Many students have severe individual problems. They come from broken home, poor homes, disturbed homes. Too many students are constantly agitated because of the intolerable circumstances in which they live.

Frequently these students are classroom problems, or problem in the halls. There is a high incidence of skipping, tardiness, fighting, and commotion. These behaviors have required somewhat "tougher" regulation of student behavior - a reasonable toughness supported by the majority of students.

D. CURRICULUM CHANGE

An urgent need is to update the curriculum and adapt the best materials and teaching techniques available to better serve Baldwin students. In recent years the secondary curriculum has not been updated. Baldwin students have a vast range of achievement levels, aspirations, and interests. Few opportunities exist for individualized instruction, either in basics or advanced subjects.

E. STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT

Many students have low levels of academic achievement. They do not live in an education-oriented community, at least in comparison with suburban areas. Neither do they have the opportunities other children have for incidental learnings that reinforce the school's program. The schools must do more in Baldwin.

F. FACILITIES

Facilities are only marginal. The buildings are relatively new, but in serious need of maintenance. Small buildings cause problems in providing comprehensive services to elementary students.

G. TEACHER TURNOVER

Teacher turnover rates stay at about 35% per year. Many young teachers become discouraged by the problems in Baldwin Schools. Teaching in Baldwin is more demanding than in many other schools. Salaries are also a factor, as is the isolation of the community. The result is a bimodal age distribution - young teachers or older teachers. The lack of continuity of staff makes it more difficult to develop instrcutional programs.

H. TRUST AND CONFIDENCE

Perhaps the most important problem is the lack of trust and confidence within the community. Citizens had lost confidence in their schools. Mistrust goes deep, as last year's school closing crisis and its aftermath showed.

The schools are attempting to build new bridges of trust and understanding for all - students, staff and citizens. On this foundation of new confidence the Baldwin Community Schools will build the excellent schools the children must have for equal educational opportunity.

APPENDIX A

A REPORT ON THE REORGANIZATION PROCEDURE UNDER ACT NUMBER 289 OF THE PUBLIC ACTS OF 1964 OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN AS IT OCCURRED IN LAKE COUNTY INTERMEDIATE DISTRICT

By Harold B. Nichols, Intermediate Superintendent
(Superintendent, Baldwin Community Schools, 1962-68

The following results are significant since they show that, in the Lake County situation, not only was the act carried out to produce one K-12 school, but it led to the desegregation of the County schools.

Annexation of rural districts from several directions enlarged the Baldwin Schools in the Lake Intermediate District a good deal between 1962 and 1965. These were additions of Sauble Township and part of Elk Township originally belonging to the Sauble Rural Schools and secondly to the Luther Schools, also, Sweetwater Township School District, and Woodland Park District (Merrill Twp. Schools) in Merrill Township, Newaygo County.

The Merrill School located in Woodland Park in the northern part of Newaygo County annexed to the Baldwin Schools by special election in 1963. This action followed refusal by some Newaygo schools to take this district with a large percentage of black students. High school students were already attending the Baldwin Schools, however, so the entire district population was brought in under this annexation.

By early 1963 interest in progressive school activities at the Baldwin Schools promped citizens in Sauble Township and part of Elk Township to request annexation to Baldwin. Sauble at that time was a part of the Luther District. County Intermediate Board action completed this on April 12, 1965 by joint action of Lake Mescosta-Osceola and Newaygo Intermediate Boards of Education when they set over this portion of Lake County into the enlarging Baldwin District.

Similar interest grew in Sweetwater Township, and all but a very small portion of this district was joined to Baldwin in 1965 by an election of the Sweetwater residents. By this action, this district was annexed just before the new legislation making it manditory that all K-8 districts have annexation votes throughout the state.

When the Michigan Legislature passed Act Number 289 of the Public Acts of 1964, calling for reorganization of all schools into K-12 districts, Lake County still had nine school districts as follows:

Baldwin Public, a K-12 District	598 pupils
Luther Township School, a K-12	292 pupils
Yates Township Schools, a K-8	81 pupils (99%-100% black)
Chase Village Schools, a K-6	55 pupils
Sweetwater Twp. Schools, a K-8	22 pupils
Cornell School, a K-8	30 pupils
Samis School, a K-8	26 pupils

Cherry Valley, a K-8	18 pupils
Webber (Nelson) School	92 pupils (99%-100% black)

Baldwin Schools had long accepted high school tuition students from most of the county. Because of this, workable relations existed between the various boards of education throughout the county as well as with the Lake Intermediate Board and the Board of Education of the Baldwin Community Schools. For this reason it was comparitively easy to explain the new Annexation Law and to bring all Boards of Education together to discuss the needed action.

During 1965 and 1966 the planning for reorganization took place resulting in a determination to set up an election which would eventually leave Lake County with only one school district.

Lake Intermediate Superintendent Louis Hoothart appointed citizen study committees in all of the districts. He directed the committee work throughout the year working closely with the Department of Education and with Harold B. Nichols, Superintendent of the Baldwin Schools.

After many meetings including hearing meetings in the various school districts, the final decisions of the planning groups resulted in the following recommendations, with voting in all districts to take place on May 14, 1966.

Cornell and Samis District would vote on annexation to Reed City. Yates School, Webber School (Nelson), Cherry Valley School, in Lake County, and Bitely School in Newaygo County would vote on annexation to Baldwin. At that time the Webber and Yates schools were usually all black. The Bitely School was integrated, as was the Baldwin District.

The Reorganization vote passed with the following interesting results in the five precincts:

	Votes	Yes	No	Spoiled
Baldwin School	172	61	110	1
Cherry Valley	41	23	18	
Yates	142	115	22	5
Bitely	32	22	10	
Nelson	85	31	53	1
Totals	472	252	213	7

Following the reorganization vote final plans for assignment of pupils to the new district buildings began. A review of the election results indicates that there was unexpected resistance to reorganization in several areas of the county. It naturally

follows that resistance to most plans for student assignment would show up.

Superintendent Harold Nichols working closely with the Baldwin Board of Education, former board members from primary districts, and lay committee members set up a series of meetings to formulate a plan which would integrate all of the new district.

Since the Yates and Webber (Nelson) schools were nearly all black, and existing in black communities, many problems concerning transportation as well as almost total redistribution of certain grades had to be considered. Both Superintendent Nichols and the Baldwin Board directed all efforts toward master plans which would accomplish complete integration of students by the 1966-67 school year.

Committee efforts together with assistance from consultants from Central Michigan University, school officials and Department of Education advisors developed three possible plans for best utilization of all existing facilities. Special assistance was contributed by Mr. James Hayes of Central and Mr. Roger Boline of the Department of Education and this should be recognized here.

After many meetings and much deliberation Plan III, attached, was selected. This plan called for total integration of all schools and all grades, and made use of all useable buildings.

In general, the following major changes were made necessary:

(a) The all black Yates Elementary School would become Yates Jr. High School where all seventh and eighth graders of the entire district would attend, thus integrating all seventh and eighth grade students.

(b) The former all black Webber Twp. (Nelson) school was to become an elementary school for grades K-3 for all children in the northern part of Lake County in the Baldwin District.

(c) The former Bitely School in Newaygo County was to become an early elementary school for pupils in grades K-3 who lived in the southern part of Lake County and in the townships of Lilley and part of Merrill in Newaygo County. Since many pupils in these townships were black, the Bitely school was automatically integrated by this move.

(d) The Baldwin Plant would house all 9-12 high school pupils and the attached elementary school would have all grades in K-6. Since student placement was done within the individual grades by alphabetical lists, the entire school was therefor to be integrated.

(e) It should be noted that the plan as presented to the Board of Education for approval, and to the citizens of the new

Baldwin District took into account all such accompanying problems as teacher placement, transportation, the need for a middle school, and the need for some additional funds in order to assure every student an equal opportunity in each of the five remaining schools.

The following final plan is attached here in its entirety since this is the one presented to all citizens, and is the one which was successfully adopted and placed into operation during the 1967-68 school year:

Following final approval by the Board of Education, all necessary changes in buildings and bus routes were made, and the plan (Plan III) was placed into operation during the school year of 1967-68. The general reaction of the public was very favorable after the third or fourth month of operation. Only minor problems of transportation and building use was encountered.

The reactions of the students was excellent, and those in the middle school began to develop their own student programs and activities. The reactions of teachers was favorable, since black teachers were absorbed into the system and some were transferred to each of the schools. White teachers were generally willing to take new positions in the various school buildings, so that the new teaching staff was integrated as well as all of the students. Efforts to increase the number of black staff members resulted in the addition of two more during 1967-68.

The following Superintendent's Statement which followed the planning year describes the reorganization steps as extremely important accomplishments during the planning period. The fact that the plan did operate successfully since that time speaks very well for all who worked on the project.

Superintendent's Statement:
The accompanying report is a copy of the 1966-67 Auditor's report of the financial transactions for the Baldwin Public School District. This includes all income and expenditures from July 1, 1966 to June 30, 1967. You will note that all accounts including the Federal Title Programs, Debt Retirement Funds and student organization accounts are included as well as the general fund account. The tot l cost of all instructional programs during the past year was $ 22,049.70 which includes all programs-day school, summer school, adult evening, and all Federal Title Remedial and other special programs. Federal Programs are reimbursed almost 100%, adult programs are reimbursed through both State and Federal Funds. It should be noted that while we do receive many grants for State and Federal Projects these activities must be in addition to the regular instructional programs and cannot replace existing programs. Federal funds do not necessarily help financially, but they do much to broaden and enhance existing programs and to provide special help for deprived children.

The past year has been one of the most active in the history of the school district. Some of the important accomplishments of the school district through the cooperation of the public and the board of education are:

1. Building of a new athletic field, made possible through public donations and the 3/4 mill levy for athletics.

2. Outfitting the band and music department through the Band Boosters' activities and the 1/4 mill levy for band.

Superintendent's Statement (con't):

3. Complete reorganization of existing buildings within the newly formed school district to provide equal opportunity for all pupils, and to make better use of all existing facilities.

4. Establishment of a satellite lunch program making more use of the central kitchen.

5. A broard planning program using a State Grant to assist with curriculum research and revision, and plans for a separate middle school, and organization for complete integration of pupils inall classes and teachers in all schools. The planning project made wide use of lay people, college consultants and representatives of the Department of Public Instruction.

6. Establishment of an evening school for adults and high school students involving over 90 adults in evening classes over a 30 week period.

7. Complete reorganization of the school accounting system involving both general fund and debt fund monies and all students accounts and the book store operation.

8. Establishment of a broader physical fitness program for elementary pupils, and instruction for all elementary pupils in instrumental music.

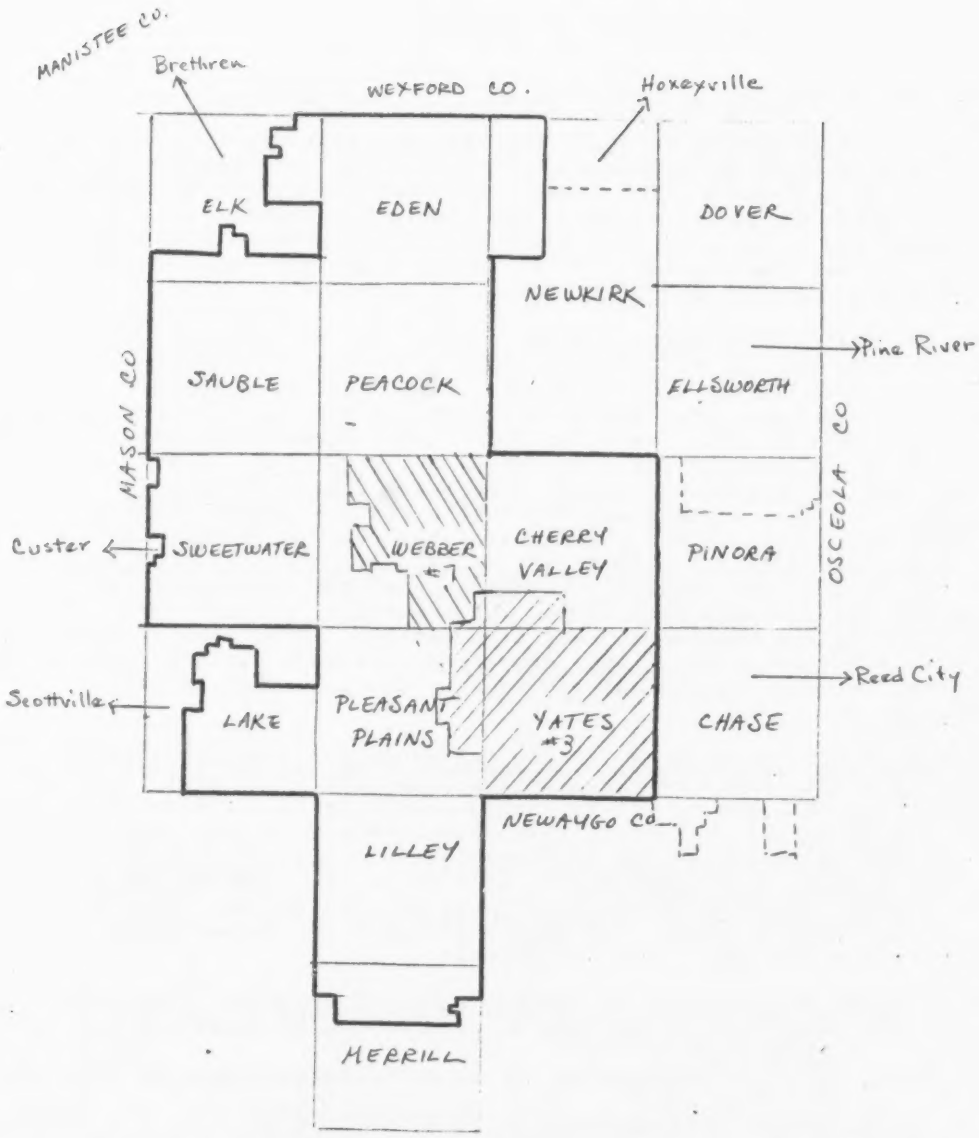
9. Establishment of a broader testing and guidance program closely linked with remedial services and psychological services.

The outlook for the present school year 1967-68 is good. The year got off to a good start with minor problems. The valuation of the school district has been set at $26,572,900 which represents a valuation per membership child of about $27,000.00. This is favorable for debt service, and the board of education has reduced the debt millage from 4 mills to 2.25 mills for 1967 in most parts of the district. This large valuation is not favorable for state aid receipts, however, and will require more local tax support and less from the state per membership child. The district will again have to vote extra millage for operation during the 1967-68 school year.

The 1967-68 school year has been planned to present the strongest overall educational program for both day school and evening (adult) students ever attempted in Lake County.

The financial records of the Board of Education were audited by Cramer, Beattle and Baird - Certified Public Accountants - and are open to inspection by any citizen.

Harold B. Nichols, Superintendent.



The districts of Bitely, Yates #3, Webber #7, and Cherry Valley #6 all joined the Baldwin District under reorganization vote. Yates and Webber were the all black schools. Heavy outline indicates the boundary of the present Baldwin District which desegregated the various areas.

APPENDIX A - ATTACHMENT

PROBLEMS OF STUDENT PLACEMENT IN THE SCHOOL DISTRICT

The Board of Education of the Baldwin Public Schools have appointed a Committee to study the present placement of students, available buildings, problems of over-crowding, transportation, etc. They have been asked to make recommendations to the Board of Education by March of 1967. The Committee, representing parents, and other citizens of the entire reorganized district, have been meeting regularly using resource persons from Central Michigan University and local school officials.

PRESENT STATUS OF COMMITTEE WORK

At the February meeting of the committee held at the Bitely School on February 8, the committee, with about 40 citizens present, discussed four different plans for the use of our school buildings next year. Of the various plans presented, the committee favored one referred to as "PLAN III". This plan involves a separate junior high school, or a "MIDDLE SCHOOL". It was further decided that a general public meeting should be called for all residents of the Baldwin Schools on WEDNESDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 22, IN THE BRAIL GYMNASIUM AT 8:00 PM in the Baldwin High School. The purpose of the meeting is, to explain the proposed plan to the public, and to provide the opportunity for questions concerning details. Consultants and representatives of all groups concerned have been asked to be present to answer questions and to help the committee explain PLAN III.

A GENERAL OUTLINE OF PLAN III AND THE NECESSARY CHANGES INVOLVED

1. The plan would re-organize the four schools in order to make full use of all buildings available to children in this school district. This year this is not true, since the Baldwin Plant is over-crowded, while the Nelson Plant is using only about 60% of it's potential, and the Yates Plant is using only about 50% of it's potential. Additional space is needed for Music, Physical Education, Counseling & Testing, School Lunch, etc.

2. WHERE GRADES WOULD BE TAUGHT UNDER THE PROPOSED "PLAN III"
   (a) Grades Kindergarten, 1, 2, & 3---to be taught at BITELY plant
   (b) Grades Kindergarten, 1, 2, & 3---to be taught at NELSON plant
   (c) Grades Kindergarten, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 &) Grades 9, 10, 11, & 12 -----) would be taught at BALDWIN MAIN plant
   (d) Grades 7, 8, and some of Grade 6---would be taught at YATES plant

3. THE MIDDLE SCHOOL CONCEPT

   Many educational advisors believe that students in grades 6, 7, & 8 need to share experiences considerably different from the students in high school and in the lower elementary grades. The MIDDLE SCHOOL provides these experiences

GENERAL OUTLINE OF PLAN III AND THE NECESSARY CHANGES INVOLVED (con't)

through special curriculum planning, which is not always possible when the junior high is an integral part of the high school. The above plan would make possible the implementation of this concept by establishing such a unit at the YATES plant, as shown above. Additional facilities for Physical Education, Music, and Hot Lunch would immediately be available for the 7th & 8th grades at the Yates plant. The JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPAL and his assigned staff would structure the courses of study to meet the special needs of the MIDDLE SCHOOL PUPIL.

4. WHERE WOULD STUDENTS NOW LIVING IN THE DISTRICT BE PLACED?
A preliminary view of the student placement under PLAN III can be best explained by setting down some suggested guide lines to make the plan workable and economical. While the following guide lines are not finalized, they have been used in the planning of the system now under consideration. Students would be placed using these or similar guide lines in so far as possible:

(a) Since there will be at least one section of all grades Kindergarten through 6 at the BALDWIN plant, students living in town and probably those living very close to the town could attend these grades at the BALDWIN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.

(b) In general, students living west, southwest, and south of Baldwin would attend the elementary grades at BALDWIN. This would assure proper pupil-teacher ratio in all rooms, and would keep all bus routes as short as possible.

(c) Students in grades Kindergarten through 3 living near Bitely, or south of Bitely, except for those in Special Education, would attend school at BITELY.

(d) Students in grades Kindergarten through 3 living near the NELSON School, or northwest, north, or northeast of the Nelson School would attend there, with certain exceptions for Special Education or in case of a classroom overflow, due to changing enrollments.

(e) Some students in grade 6 living outside of town would attend the MIDDLE SCHOOL at Yates. An attempt would be made to enroll 6th graders there who come from Yates Township, and north of U.S. 10, with the Jr. High School. 6th Graders coming from the south or southwest would probably attend the BALDWIN plant, since this would provide for shorter bus rides for all 6th Graders. K thru 5th graders from YATES twsp. area would attend school at BALDWIN or at NELSON.

(f) All high school students in grades 9 through 12 would attend the BALDWIN plant.

(g) All students in grades 7 and 8 would attend the MIDDLE SCHOOL at the YATES plant.

GENERAL OUTLINE OF PLAN III AND THE NECESSARY CHANGES INVOLVED (con't)

5. WHAT ABOUT THE PLACEMENT OF TEACHERS?
Considerable shifting of teachers would be necessary in order to place properly trained specialists where ever needed. Some teachers now teaching in the outlying schools would be moved to other outlying schools, or brought into the BALDWIN plant. Several of those now teaching at BALDWIN would need to be assigned in the MIDDLE SCHOOL at YATES, or in outlying schools. New personnel would be placed as needed and according to their experience and preparation.

6. WHAT ABOUT TRANSPORTATION?
Several bus routes would be shorter for many children. A great many of the present bus schedules would be left alone, since all buses now come to the BALDWIN plant in the morning and in the evening. MIDDLE SCHOOL pupils would be transferred and taken to the YATES plant in the morning, and returned to BALDWIN in the evening, where necessary.

Exceptions would sometimes have to be made for Special Education students, for the elimination of excessive bus rides, for certain class divisions, and for overflow of rooms not now forseen.

Special recognition should be given to the following for their contributions and foresight in establishing a completely integrated school system for Lake County, Michigan:

Lake County Intermediate District

Louis Mocthart, Superintendent
Earl Randall, President
Dorothy Bender, Trustee
Harley Kilgore, Vice-President
Patricia Hoskins, Trustee
John Bradford, Trustee

Baldwin Community Schools

Harold B. Nichols, Superintendent
Jack Teague, President
Alfred Patterson, Vice-President
Norma Russell, Secretary
Robert Smith, Treasurer
Dorothy Bender, Trustee
John R. Matson, Trustee
George Gidley, Trustee

Central Michigan University

Dr. James Hayes

Department of Education

Roger Boline
Dr. Ferris Crawford

BALDWIN, MICH.

[Mr. Ed McKinney, superintendent of Baldwin Public Schools; Mr. William Meade, title IV coordinator; 947 pupils—45 percent black; dropout 5.8 percent]

School name	Percent minority	School size	Comparative achievement scores	Percentile
Baldwin Elementary	46	345	41.1	0-
Yates Junior High	53	146	45.3	0-

Senator MONDALE. May we have comments from your two colleagues from the Baldwin school system.

Mr. MCKINNEY. Bill, would you say something about the program you are working on with respect to racial tension among students and how we have been proceeding in those areas?

Mr. MEAD. Title IV of the Desegregation Act of 1964 was given to Baldwin in June of 1971, and this grant came about because of many problems that existed within the county.

One of the problems was that due to the fact that the students have severe individual problems, they needed to have some black teachers in the high school to identify with. So the superintendent went out and tried to recruit some black teachers out of the State of Michigan. Due to the economic situation that existed in the Lake County area it was almost impossible to get black teachers from the State of Michigan. So he proceeded to go into the southern colleges located in the southern regions to get black teachers.

RESENT BLACK RECRUITMENT

Some of the black teachers on the staff resented the fact that the superintendent is wasting this money to go out of the State to recruit black teachers.

We did successfully complete a recruitment program that increased the high school black staff by three members and, now, due to the fact that we do have these black teachers located in the high school that the black children can especially identify with, it has alleviated some of the problems.

Now we are working with the students, both black and white. Our approach has been to get the black and white leaders, get them in the conference room and let them spit out exactly what the problems are.

Some of the things that have come out of this is the fact that the students themselves have decided that going around arguing, fighting, disrupting classes is not the answer, that we are all here for one purpose and that is an education and we have to work together to get this education.

LACK OF PARENT INVOLVEMENT

Also, due to the economic situation that exists in Lake County, most of the parents have not seen the inside of the schools. They have not even seen the teachers. So, beginning November 9, 1971, we will initiate a home visitation program where teachers will be relieved from their classroom duties 1 day out of the year to make at least seven visits in the homes and hopefully it is not to identify the problem

students but just to get an overall picture of what the home life—what the economic situation and so forth is, so it will enable the teachers to better understand the students they are working with and give the parents a better outlook and a better picture of the teachers that they have.

We are trying to get the community involved to get trust built back into the community because this trust has left the community, and one of the things that we just completed was a successful community night program during American Education Week*, and on Monday, one of the other things that Mr. McKinney spoke of just a few minutes ago was the fact that at the board meeting we could see signs that trust was being put back into the Baldwin community schools.

I attribute some of this to this program, the funds that were given to the school and, through my leadership, I guess, that we have progressed in this particular area.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

Mr. Miller.

TEACHER TURNOVER

Mr. MILLER. Much of the problem, as the teachers see it, relates to the extremely high rate of teacher turnover. We lose between 30 and 35 percent of our staff every year. Certainly one of the advantages of a small school system is that teachers get to know the families and those families get to know the teachers, but when 30 to 35 percent of our teachers do not come back, we do not get the standard relationship.

I think in many cases our teachers are leaving for the same reason their students are having problems learning. The housing is not any better for teachers than it is for other families. Baldwin's teachers certainly are not the highest paid teachers in the State.

Senator MONDALE. How much of that turnover is attributable to pay? How much is attributable to a school system that is in difficulty?

Mr. MILLER. Of the staff members who left last year some 30 percent stated dissatisfaction with the school district as their reason for leaving. The association would interpret this to mean, among other things, salary.

One thing that comes into play here is the fact that many of us find it necessary to move as our families grow because we cannot find decent housing for our families in the Baldwin area. This would also come under our heading of dissatisfaction.

Also contributing to the turnover rate in the past 3 to 5 years has been the leaving of a tremendous number of uncertified personnel in the classroom. We are for the first time this year staffed, I believe, 100 percent with teachers holding a Michigan provisional or continuing certificate. It certainly says something about the efforts of the district to upgrade education.

Another reason for the turnover, teachers become discouraged and leave. Some reasons, perhaps children don't learn as much as they should—our class sizes are quite frankly too large.

Senator MONDALE. What is the average class size?

*See Part 19C, Appendix 4.

Inadequacies Cited

Mr. Miller. The average class size right now according to our figures is about 32 pupils per class. In the traditional class with children, shall we say, who are used to the system, able to operate well in the situation, maybe 32 is not too bad, but in our individualized classes, and let's put individualized in quotation marks, that class still doesn't drop much under 25.

As one who tried to teach an individualized math class on the secondary level last year, I can tell you it is nearly impossible to individualize instruction with 28 students and 28 different stages of development in mathematics.

Closely related to that is the fact that the teaching materials are inadequate. We have teachers willing to individualize instruction, willing to make the attempt even with the larger classes, but we just plain don't have the materials many times.

We need, in the opinion of the association, more teachers to get the class size down and more materials to give the teachers something to work with. I am, myself, this year, currently teaching a class for which we have no textbook.

Senator Mondale. No textbook?

Mr. Miller. Correct. I am also teaching another class where we have one textbook for every two students.

Not that the board would not wish to provide the materials; as Mr. McKinney has pointed out, we are in the process of going rapidly in the hole.

The Teacher's Association has made some efforts to help with the situation. Of course, we wholeheartedly endorse the millage issue. We have established a Human Relations Committee. We are also making plans to work with Mr. Mead's program for some inservice training for our teachers.

The Baldwin Education Association were co-sponsoring along with the PTA and the American Legion of the American Education Week this year which, as Mr. Mead pointed out, is extremely important to us because our parents very seldom make it into the school.

The association is supporting Mr. Mead's home visitation program by informally and formally urging the teachers to sign up for this visitation.

Senator Mondale. Very good.

Mr. McKinney, I understand you were once in the D.C. School System. I have a bias, having grown up in a small school system, that there is more humanity and individual concern and self-esteem than most of these central school city systems can produce, whatever the reason. I can be totally wrong. You have been in both kinds of systems, in both of which there is a racial mix. What is your reaction?

Mr. McKinney. Yes, sir. That may be partly a function of the size of the schools. My children attended schools in the District of Columbia for 2 years. They attended Lafayette Elementary and Alice Deal Junior High School, and we were very pleased with that experience. In fact, I think it was the highlight of their educational careers.

Senator Mondale. At that time were they both lily-white schools?

Mr. McKinney. They were integrated.

Senator Mondale. Like what?

Mr. McKINNEY. I think Alice Deal was 20-percent black. I understand it is considerably higher today.

I think integrated education——

Senator MONDALE. If you take the average school experience and related experience of a poor black child or a poor white in the District of Columbia and you compare it with their counterpart in Baldwin, which families do you think probably have the best life chances?

ESPOUSES RURAL AREA EDUCATION

Mr. McKINNEY. I think the child who grows up in Baldwin has it all over the child that grows up in the center of a city. I would not advocate that too many more people move to Baldwin unless we get some more money. But I think children who are growing up in the rural areas have a chance for a better childhood, a better set of experiences as far as the kinds of things that are available for them: outdoor recreation, simple associations, fewer pressures.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Mead, I assume you have had experience with this.

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. When you go home, would you just write a letter to the committee as to what you think the differences are? I have the same bias. I could be completely wrong, because I have so little experience with the central school system.

I think this Nation's tendency to continually overcrowd, to stuff poor people all together in these central cities, is disastrous and even with money, there is something missing. That Covert thing, just the spirit of the school strikes me.

You have been busing for a long time. We have had this whole national dispute about busing for a long time. But we have had some trouble. But I bet you there was not a big argument over busing at the time, or was there?

Mr. MEAD. Excuse me, the trouble that we had was not the busing. The trouble was how were we going to finance it. The only problem was the maintenance of the buses and the snow. We have known of cases where children had to catch the bus at 6:45 to get to school at 8 or 8:15. We haven't had any situations such as exist in the larger cities in the State of Michigan.

Senator MONDALE. We will take take a short break and then we will conclude our testimony with Mr. Krieger.

(Recess.)

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Krieger, if you will proceed.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM B. KRIEGER, SUPERINTENDENT, MACKINAC ISLAND SCHOOL DISTRICT, MACKINAC, MICH.

Mr. KRIEGER. Senator Mondale, I want to thank you for this opportunity to explain some disadvantages of the small school district, and, as you have pointed out, the advantages of a small school.

As I look at my dittoed copy of the paper, possibly I should go through it, at least in part to explain some of it.

Senator MONDALE. We will put the full statement in the record * as read. You can go through and just emphasize the points that you think ought to be made.

Mr. KRIEGER. Very good.

Possibly it might help if you understand some of the background a little bit. I approach the school from a counselor point of view rather than administrative point of view because that is my training. I have had some experience, 2 years, in a school district in New York just a couple of years ago where we had 700 teachers; that is more people than we have in our whole community right now. Before that I worked part time in the city of Pittsburgh and that again was a different experience.

The Island description that is in the paper here has served to bring out one major point, which is our isolation. I think isolation can be true for many of the small school districts throughout the Nation. We are 225 miles north of Detroit and 50 miles south of the Canadian border and 550 miles east of Minneapolis, Minn. It sounds like we are in the middle of nowhere and that is exactly where it is.

The history of the Island goes back a long way, back into the 1600's really. The school system history, as indicated, goes back a good distance also, back into the early 1840's and 1850's when some buildings were actually provided and maintained for the purpose of schooling.

Every time you listen to a panel like this from a small school or from a large school, you will notice we all claim to have such unique features, and ours is not different. One of the features, is that we have no automobiles on the Island; it is strictly a resort area and has had no automobiles for transportation purposes since 1900. Before that they weren't much of a problem. We even stick to this same code in the wintertime, which means any busing that we do is by horse and wagon or sled.

The Island is under two governmental agencies at one time; the Department of Natural Resources, and as indicated here, more directly the Mackinac Island State Park Commission, which is sort of unusual for most State parks. We are a State park primarily, and only a small portion of our land is private.

The winter scene is described in here. It is very scarcely populated downtown. Downtown can be used as a bowling alley, if you would like, in the wintertime. However, next fall a 4-year liberal arts college will be opened.

HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

One of the problems that we have is very similar to this district, Baldwin; a very high percentage of our people are unemployed. Anywhere from 50 to 75 percent of the parents of the children in the school are unemployed in the winter, and yet our valuation, State equalized valuation, puts $60,000 behind each child. Now, the majority, possibly three-fourths of the people representing that valuation aren't even there at this moment. They are now gone to Arizona, to Florida, and to points south.

So, we are left trying to convince people of the worthwhileness of school, while most of the people are unemployed and can scarcely afford to vote for more taxation.

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*See prepared statement, p. 9816.

Our building was designed for a K–10 system. We now have a K through 12. Our 1970 graduating class was the first one in 25 years. This means that our population, the people who are out of school, is almost entirely non-high school graduates. Again, this creates some problems, probably similar to Baldwin.

Senator MONDALE. How many children are in your school system?

Mr. KREIGER. 174.

Senator MONDALE. How many are in the 12th grade?

Mr. KREIGER. 12.

Senator MONDALE. How many are in the first grade?

Mr. KRIEGER. Approximately 15.

One of our problems, of course, is space. Since our expansion we have added one portable classroom and yet we are very limited with space.

One of my high school tutors came in last week. She said, "Mr. Krieger, I have a little child whom I want to help in reading. The only available room is the boys' john, can I use it?" I had to tell her no. She went out in the hallway and sat with him there. This is not a unique problem.

However, the cost of building on our Island is very high because of the problem of bringing trucks over.

PROBLEMS OF ISOLATION

Some of the problems on isolation: children are actually afraid to get away from home. As you can well imagine, the Island provides a very stable, unchanging world for the majority of the people on the Island, and they get to be very much dependent upon that world.

I indicated in there that one of our high school graduates last year, the most academic of the graduates, elected to go to college, did every preliminary step to go to college except show up at his first class the first day of school this year. He could not handle the pressure of being 50 miles away from the Island.

Another boy wanted to be in the Navy. He elected to join the National Guard where he could spend most of his time at home again. Of the two people that did go to college and make it, one will be home this Christmas or will be home next spring. There is one final one that made it and may graduate.

Our children are not particularly conscious of fashions and dress, behavior and so forth as they are on the mainland. It is partly true because in the summertime every single person who can work is working, starting at age 11.

If you have a family business, you can start legally before that, so you do. So your clothes are pretty much a part of what you are doing.

In the wintertime the cold weather is the most pressing point, and at that time you wear the warmest thing you can find. Leisure time is not particularly well used during the summer, when people are very, very busy, and don't get home until late at night. The children stay out late at night or at all-night parties; this causes problems in the winter. Our students are not bored whatsoever during the school year. During the summer they are working and during the winter they are entertaining themselves to a high degree.

There are no theaters to attend. They have one pool hall that opened up just this fall. That will give them another outlet. Even with that absent we had everybody happy and everybody busy—not everybody, but I say that in a general sort of way.

The cost of traveling to the mainland is almost prohibitive. The attempt to get children off the Island to partake in anything over on the mainland will cost $11.23 just to climb into a car for a family of five.

When the people in the wintertime are not working and they have more time to do that sort of thing, the cost jumps. For a family of five it would be $30 roundtrip just to get to the car. So that again is prohibitive, since families of five are not particularly common. We have larger families.

A lot of people on the Island actually fear—we have an ice bridge in the wintertime, they would fear that. Maybe some of you would fear that. It is a 6-mile bridge between the mainland and the Island. It is strictly ice. It is marked with Christmas trees, but a lot of people won't use it. The same people won't use the airplane, because they are afraid of that; and, the same people won't go on the boat. The net result is they pass that attitude on to the children.

We plan field trips which we consider to be one of the crucial parts of our program to get these people exposed to mainland activities. We have many children who will not go, and have full parent cooperation to stay home: "I don't want you going on the mainland roads anyway."

We have a half-time kindergarten teacher, six full-time teachers and myself; I teach in order to fill in the schedule at the high school level.

We also use one custodian, one cook for the hot lunch program, one part-time secretary, and lightly scheduled part-time aides. We have almost as many aides as we have teachers, but aides are lightly scheduled, sometimes 1 hour a day.

School Program

At the elementary levels, things are pretty much contained as you will find in many small schools. The things that we can offer include a reading program from Title I. I was interested in hearing some of the other school districts talk about their programs, the cost involved and so on and so forth. Our expenditure per pupil at this point is approximately $620. However, you have got to subtract $24 of that because that is Title I money. We have approximately $24 from outside sources with the exception of hot lunch money—we have $24 per student coming in. It is almost impossible for us to write a Federal program that will either meet the standards set—or meet the deadline. It is difficult to write one that we know we can administer.

My administration at this point includes a number of things, and we, of course, share this as a team, the teachers and myself, but I am ultimately responsible for it, so it gives me more grief than it does them, I think.

The curriculum is our problem—grading, counseling, senior placement, the tutorial program, the adult education program. Teacher

aides have to be continually met with. Attendance procedures are our problem, my problem. Title I administration is my problem. Athletics is pretty much out of my hands now; I have a man that can do that. PTA is out of my hands; however, I am very active in it. The community school in which we offer art, typing, recreation and so on and so forth is totally under my supervision. Speech therapy is no problem to me. Psychological referrals are no problem to me except I have to be cognizant of what is happening in that area. All kinds of inventory and ordering are also my problem.

So, when I consider writing another program, I have to consider the time element. Where am I going to find the time to administer that program should it come in?

I can pay myself more money, but that doesn't give me more time. So it limits this pretty radically.

I think you will find as a whole the smaller school districts probably have more difficulty in gaining State aid or Federal aid through special programs. Even a district as small as Sault Sainte Marie is able to have one full-time man whose job is strictly Federal programs, writing the projects, making sure the projects function, and they take care of all the details. His salary is more than paid for by the amount of money they get back from the programs.

Problems of Individualism

One of the things that I have had as a problem for me when I was working in New York and Pennsylvania and Michigan—I worked in Michigan for 3 years previously—was the teacher or the administrative push for us to individualize our instructions or our behavior, whatever it was. If we were a counselor, we had to individualize. If we had 600 students, we had to individualize our treatment of each of the 600. When I came to the Island and, which was in the fall of 1970, my commitment to the teachers, the same commitment I have now—is a hard one for them to deal with in the sense that it causes one a lot of grief. I feel that if the administration wishes the teacher to individualize his treatment of the child, then, that administration must individualize its treatment of the teacher, and that means that each person is allowed to develop his definition of the teaching role, and then live that role.

For example, if I thought that possibly we could benefit by departmentalization at the elementary level, I would include only those people who really wanted to do it, because maybe some people really felt they could best teach in a self-contained room. At that point I would certainly give them every opportunity to come in, at every point they want to, but I will not force progressive teaching or traditional teaching or any kind of teaching on any individual teacher. Again it is very difficult, because each teacher can look around and see someone teaching totally differently right next door and want to know which one is doing it right. I guess it is a carryover from the old school days, you don't know whether you are having a good time or doing it right unless somebody tells you. It is a very difficult thing to live with unless somebody tells you. We have to try to observe each other as much as possible.

At the secondary level, of course, we are hurt by the fact that we simply do not have the numbers to vary our program—number of

teachers that is. We have four teachers counting myself, and our core subjects are math, science, social studies and English. That is it. A student has to take physical education. Beyond that he can elect something such as typing, so on and so forth, because these subjects are pretty much teacher aide directed, under the supervision of some teacher.

When our students compare themselves academically or timewise to mainland students, they find themselves in an academic subject area classroom more time than they find their counterparts on the mainland in that same situation.

We have students who would just love to be working in a shop some place. On the mainland we could schedule our students into a shop anywhere from 1 to 4 hours a day. We can't get Island children in a half-hour a day because we have no shop.

So, our students are academically oriented by virtue of no other choice.

University Requirements

We are like Baldwin in the sense that we have 100-percent certified teachers this year, but the teachers coming to us are trained by universities who are departmentalized. This serves—well, it is not very good for us in the small schools. We need as much versatility as we can possibly get.

Another problem we have coming from the universities at the other end is that they want to have our students departmentalized. They want to know what they majored in, and all we can say is they have 4 years of math. I can look on a record and see how far someone went in math skills.

The next question by the university is, "All right, is your school accredited?" The North Central Accreditation Committee and the University of Michigan Accreditation Committee will not come to visit the Island. We are too small to even warrant a visit. Our students are then put on an unequal basis with other students, because universities use this as part of their screening process.

Another thing that they use is the standardized test procedure. I think one of the schools this morning mentioned the fact that testing was one of their main objectives because it gave the children an experience in testing, if nothing else, and that is true. First the child becomes test conscious, and then he becomes test wise and then he becomes test weary.

Our children are not even test conscious. They are not particularly sure how to take standardized tests. If we try to take more standardized tests, we do not have anybody in charge of testing, this means taking more time out, and we have to figure out the administrative details of inserting that.

However, all of our teachers, myself included, and more and more of the students are under the impression that the small school is the best one for them. There are many parents who feel that a larger school is better. We have four out of the 45 or 50 high school students who are attending school on the mainland somewhere.

We feel that there is an optimum point when you start to consolidate at which the advantages of the personal treatment cease to exist and the advantages of the administration begin to take full effect.

Our school probably is too small to have reached the optimum level of personal treatment. At the same time, it would not have to go very far to reach the optimum point. In larger schools the administration simply for lack—not for lack—for reasons of economics and efficiency cannot bend or cannot break certain particular areas of their operation in order to accommodate one or two students. We can. We will break up our administration procedures before we will break up the procedure of taking up any individual case. The child takes precedence in our school system.

Small School District Organization

As I have indicated in here, the organization of a small school district necessarily follows the guideline of "a pile for everything and everything in its pile."

Up to the middle of last year I did not have a secretary. Now I have a half-time secretary. But this only works part of the time. For example—there are three representatives from Baldwin; our school district is probably one of the best represented here. I have 12.5 percent of my staff with me sitting in this chair. When one teacher is gone for the day, which happens, the whole procedure dips under the water. Trying to find a substitute is a major problem.

At that point as I wrote in here, conditions make it necessary to momentarily forego the policy of "everything in its pile" and the "every man for himself" rule is activated.

The paper that I have presented here is written in the first person as I have indicated in the first part of it in order to effect an atmosphere for the reader because that is pretty much the atmosphere in a small school district. We are not particularly highly organized, and we cannot afford to be. At a certain point organization can take over and become more important than the children and their education, and that is the point we are trying to avoid.

The State of Michigan has some requirements put upon us that are very difficult to meet. We have to be in school 180 days. That is no problem. We have to maintain 5½ hours a day in the classroom, excluding study hall and lunch. When you have four teachers and 5½ hours to fill the time, it gets a little difficult.

Assessment Program

One of the things, though, that might be of interest is the Michigan assessment program does not rank our Island particularly high. I have forgotten exactly where we rank. It did not register with me at the time.

At any rate, the Upper Peninsula traditionally spends less money than larger school districts per pupil and yet, on the whole, score higher on the Michigan assessment program. This is either an indictment of the Michigan assessment program or it is an indictment or raises a question, let's say, of the value of going to pure statistics—how many teachers do you have per child? How much money do you spend per child? Right down the line. Everything statistical, at one point, diminishes to zero in value.

In the school district I was with before, in New York, we had a ratio of 19 to 1, 19 students to one teacher. In junior high our class

sizes went up to 36, 37 and 38. They counted everybody they could find. They did not count counselors. They counted administrators when we taught part time.

The statistics do not bear out a good education. It is the actual person-to-person contact that will make for good education.

I guess if you had to mention or had to summarize what a small school district offers to its students, the answer for me, and I guess for my school system here would be we offer people. We do not particularly offer academic areas. For example, in a large school, anywhere in excess of 1500 or larger, lets' say, a student can find any subject area that he would like to explore, but sometimes he cannot find himself because of the largeness of the system. In our school district he cannot find what he wants academically, but he can find himself a little bit more easily, because of our size and our ability to offer personal treatment.

At that point I am going to quit, and I will answer any questions.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF WILLIAM B. KREIGER

This statement is meant to convey ideas, procedures, perspective, and other aspects of operation peculiar to the public education system of Mackinac Island, Michigan. In the course of statement, comparing and contrasting is used to aid more proper conceptual placement of this particular small school into the total public educational spectrum. The main body of the statement is written in the first person for the reader's benefit in an attempt to effect an atmosphere more common in many small organizational units.

The Situation

Mackinac Island is situated in the Straits of Mackinac and is part of Mackinac County, State of Michigan. The closest town is that of St. Ignace, Michigan, about six miles across the water. St. Ignace is 225 miles North of Detroit, 50 miles South of the Canadian border, and 550 miles East of Minneapolis, Minnesota.

The Island was one of John Jacob Aster's fur trading posts. The fur trading and ideal geological location of the Island made it the spot for Fort Mackinac, built in the 1790's by the British. By the 1840's fur trading was on the decline and the tourist business was on the way in. It is the tourist trade that supports the island community today. Family names from the Fort rosters can be found on the current voter registration forms kept by the City Clerk.

Summers on the Island find as many as 10,000 visitors in one day wandering in the streets, through the stores, and riding horse drawn vehicles. We have no motorized transportation; at the turn of the century the City Fathers resolved that these noisy machines be forever outlawed on the otherwise peaceful island. This autoless commitment is still the firm resolution of the residents both in the summer and during the harsh winters when there are no tourists.

In addition to bending to the whims of the travelers visiting the island, we are under the watchful surveillance of the Department of Natural Resources, but more directly the Mackinac Island State Park Commission. The Island was America's second National Park and the State of Michigan's first State Park. Much of what happens is the result of an agreement between the State Park Commission and the City Council. Some of what happens is a result of a disagreement between the same two agencies.

The winter scene, or that most common to the school year, includes a Catholic Church, an Episcopal Church (or Community Church), a grocery store, a drug store, a pool hall, a Western Union that serves coffee and donuts, a part-time library, a post office, a bar, a liquor store, a hardware store on the boat dock, a Medical Center with a year-round doctor and nurse, an office for the utility company, a community school; and beginning next fall, a four year liberal arts college owned by evangelist Rex Humbard.

There is a scarcity of winter employment as might be concluded from the above listing. Approximately 75% of the students have parents receiving some form of assistance such as unemployment, welfare, and Aid to Dependent Children. This is offset by a rather high state equalized valuation which puts about

$60,000 behind each student enrolled and cuts off State Aid except for that receivable under Grandfather Clauses in the State Aid Act.

The Educational System—A History

The Mackinac Island school has been an operating reality since the 1700's when Missionaries established learning centers for children of trappers, traders, and Indians. Later the Fort personnel provided facilities within their walls. Finally, in the 1870's the Federal Government offered an Indian dormitory as a schoolhouse. The offer was accepted by the people and was used until the early 1960's. At that time a new schoolhouse was built along the lines of the one room schoolhouse, and was designed for a K–10 system. In 1966 a college was begun with the energies and facilities of Moral Re-Armament, now better known as "Up With People". The college closed its doors in the spring of 1970, but not before the people were convinced that the community should support a K–12 public system. The first graduating class was that of 1970. The ceremonies broke a twenty-five year span of history during which the Island school had no high school graduates except for those who sought the diploma off the island. During parts of that time, studies by the State ranked the island school drop out rate as highest in the State.

We currently operate two grade levels to a class, each with one teacher, and have one portable classroom in addition to the original seven rooms.

Factors of the Educational Process

As in any school system, we have to deal with influences from both without and within the structure of the education process. Those factors from without are often overlooked, so I shall begin with those with the intent of giving just due to their real weight in the development of the child.

We are an isolated district, as indicated above, and yet in many ways our isolation has many parallels to the inner city child who seldom leaves his territory. Our youngsters receive their maximum mobility at approximately age five with the advent of their first bicycle. Should they remain on the island, as many do, they use little else but the bicycle between that time and the time of their last breath. Our Kindergarten teacher was raised on the island, and recently took the day off to drive her parents to a Doctor's appointment on the mainland. Her father is a successful hotel owner here, was raised here, has never owned a car, and cannot drive. Some of the young people leave the island only two or three times each year, and at those times travel no further than St. Ignace. The most recent automobiles are no better known to most of the children that are the methods of dealing with horses known to mainland children. Our driver education teacher faces unheard of problems in his classes. Students don't bother to show up for behind the wheel experience if they have something better to do. Mainland students can't get enough experience on the road.

The latest in fashions in dress and behavior are of little concern to the residents. During the summer the nature of one's work determines how the person dresses in the morning. During the winter months, the cold weather takes precedence over other factors in the choice of clothing. Since work is highly seasonal, all members of a family are likely to be found out on some job during the summer, beginning as soon as age eleven is reached. This age is even lower in cases of a family business. During these busy days of the summer, little time is found for normal joys of living. Leisure time is limited to late in the evening when people get off work; thus small children get in bed late, older children attend late or all night parties at the expense of their health. These patterns have carryover into the school year. The summer months offer very little family travel off the island. Seldom do families attend movies or any form of cultural experience. The cost of travel is all but prohibitive for larger families at any time of the year. For a family of five the cost of transportation to the mainland just to climb into a car is $11.25. During the winter months when more time is available, the plane becomes the mode of transportation and the cost jumps to $30.00 plus taxi fares to and from cars, homes, and the airport.

Since the island is highly commercialized in its social design, cultural opportunities are brought to our shores. Due to the situation described above, few mainland activities are attended by island residents. An infrequent visit to the local library combined with that can be learned from television's two channels and

gossip at the local pub are the usual limits of the horizon of cultural exploration. A few weeks in the winter months are marked by the existence of an ice bridge between the island and St. Ignace. Horses, jeeps, air prop driven sleds, and walkers once were expected sights on that area of the ice marked as the bridge. The advent of the snowmobile has diminished those phases of the transportation picture, but have brought increased travel to the mainland. This has meant new friends, new experiences, and a new life to Islanders. Now they have the opportunity to have a beer in a mainland bar, a pizza at a mainland shop, or a movie in some nearby small town.

Several island residents fear the ice bridge, have a keen distaste for flying in the Air taxi, and refuse to travel on the boat during rough weather. This attitude is often passed on to their children, resulting in even less varied exposure.

Outsiders are viewed at a careful distance. The horseman's desire to "wait and see" is afforded newcomers. Visits to the mainland bring up similar problems with strange people, and the result is statements such as I have heard on a field trip to the "other side." The student said (and believed) that he is allergic to the mainland—he breaks out in a rash, he claimed. The part hard to deal with is the reality of that rash when he hits the other shore.

As in many small communities, a high school education is not associated with success in life. Some of the more successful businessmen have no high school diploma, and most of those employed have none. The good life is a hard worked summer and a life of hunting, fishing, snowmobiling, and unemployment during the quiet winter months. There is no argument against that form of life. Only the most successful of big-city businessmen find such similar joys. The school is charged with teaching about a world that doesn't seem to really exist to chi'dren whose parents survive nicely without those teachings, while surrounded by a world created in the school that resembles neither the outside world off the island nor the world on the island.

Another observation of small communities and the island in particular is the closeness of the younger people to their adult counterparts. The patterns of behavior at the adult level include primarily family oriented functions which include many close neighbors and friends. The pastimes at social events often include cigarette smoking and drinking. As a result, the young people smoke and drink at a rather early age. By the same token, they are not inclined to explore other areas of drug and dope. In larger areas of population, a gap seems to divide young and old, and the usual drug and dope scene switches from alcohol and tobacco to other forms more popular with the poor group. The value of this observation is left to the reader, but the effect does have a bearing on the daily operating of the school.

Factors Involved in the Operation of a School in a Small District

Our school has one half-time Kindergarten teacher, six full time teachers, one superintendent who must teach to fill in the schedule, one custodian, one cook for the hot lunch program, one part-time secretary, and several very lightly scheduled part-time aides.

PROGRAMS: ELEMENTARY

The elementary classrooms are at the present time self contained to a large extent. We have found a local lady willing to come in on a regular basis to give the children an exposure to music they would otherwise not have. We have a Title I program that includes Remedial Reading aimed at the elementary and utilizing the kindergarten teacher, two aides, and one volunteer. The Intermediate District sends a Speech Therapist twice each week to work primarily with the K–5 student. In the past this service is curtailed during winter months when travel is limited to plane travel. As a result, we have another lady from the community training with the therapist to give continuity during the "off" time for the therapist. We are currently working out an art program for the K–6 people. The wife of one of the teachers is a certified physical education teacher and is now presenting a program that will be put into operation using sides and highschool tutors under the supervision of the classroom teacher. Highschool tutors are also used for individual programs of acceleration for young students whose achievement needs help to raise it to grade level or those achievement indicates a challenge is needed.

The academic picture is left to the teacher. In my experience in other districts in Michigan, Pennsylvania, and New York, I found that educators and administrators were constantly seeking to answer the question of how to individualize and how to develop the fool-proof curriculum that would insure that all children in a given district would receive the same education. My colleagues work to achieve both those ends through these commitments:

1. In order to provide maximum opportunity for the individualism of educational process for each child, each teacher must know that he or she receives the same individualization from administration. Methods of teaching often follow methods of learning practiced by the teacher. Therefore, each teacher must have flexibility and freedom to develop their own role definition as a teacher. Whether the method used is traditional, progressive, or of another lable, that is understood to be the best method for that teacher and is given top priority in administrative decisions that could affect teaching conditions. This policy has meaning for aides, volunteers, and tutors also.

2. In an attempt to provide a curriculum that could be considered fool-proof, I make every effort not to involve foo's in the educational setting. Beyond that I seek primarily continuity in an effort to overcome the effect the mobile teaching society has upon the education process. The high rate of turnover is especially noticeable on an island where winter living is either highly treasured or detested. For those who find that living in an isolated area is not in their best interests, we must find replacements. In a small district, four teachers leaving is not uncommon, but does represent a 50% turnover, and a major consideration in the overall planning. Continuity of subject matter emphasis is often lost in a small district.

PROGRAMS: SECONDARY

At the high school level, we departmentalize to a large degree. The classes usually travel in groups of two grade levels (7–8, 9–10, 11–12) from room to room. This presents problems of grouping within a classroom. An example might be the junior-senior math class, in which the teacher has found three groups of readiness: basic skills, beginning algebra, and advanced algebra. Since this requires a good deal of time roaming from desk to desk to give help, the teacher finds his time unfortunately spread thin. Another example can be found in the junior-senior social studies class, in which the teacher finds it best to offer American History one year and Government and Economics the next year. With the cases of transfers, this works a hardship.

The departmentalization method has a ready problem at teacher turnover time. Finding someone who is suited for teaching in a community where the teaching is a way of life rather than a job can sometimes be tedious if the added factor of major study area is added on. Small schools are not well serviced by most teacher training centers in that departmentalization at the University level tends to train the teacher to become subject matter oriented rather than child oriented, and tends to insure that the teacher will be ill prepared to work in a small school that needs as much versatility from each person as possible.

Along these same lines, the Universities have chosen to discriminate against students coming from small districts through their screening processes. Many require that the students graduate from an accredited high school to enroll. The North central Accreditation Committee and the University of Michigan Committee won't even come out to look at a district as small as Mackinac Island. It goes without trial if certain criteria are not met such as a library, counselors, and other services not possible in many small districts. Other Universities use standardized testing as a screening method. Many students from all sized schools, but particularly those in smaller districts, have had very little experience at the taking of standardized tests. In the development of the school child today, he first becomes test wise and then test weary. Our students aren't even test conscious.

We make use of talent from the community at the secondary level also. Some can explain typing methods, others cooking, sewing, cake decorating. Still others have a "talent and an enthusiasm" for music. When a member of the community comes to me to offer their services either as a volunteer or an aide, one of the major criteria is that they have "talent and enthusiasm" in the area that they indicate an interest. In addition, they must view the students as people of the

community who probably won't gain as much from the experience as will the aide.

The teachers also maintain an adult education program. Last year we had 169 daytime students, with eight in the senior class. At night we had four graduates. This year our class has grown, and with it the support of the school. Last year the teachers had as their goal to sell the school back to its owners. In many communities the school is the spare tire—expensive, but necessary. One of our goals now is to make the school the community and make the community the school. Then possibly the job of teaching about the world on the island will be in workable proportions.

In an effort to bring the student into contact with the outside world, we have a heavy program of field trips and visitors. We have often worked the daily schedule for the whole school around an unexpected visitor. Likewise, we have organized field trips on Sunday nights for the following morning. In spite of the trips, the graduating class of 1971 had three accepted in a nearby college. One of the three went through every step of attending except actually showing up on campus on the first day of classes. The thought of living 50 miles from the Island was too much. A fourth graduate wanted to enter the Navy and get flight training, but settled for the National Guard and weekdays home. In the class of 1970 a graduate made entry into the Army only to go AWOL and come back to the Island for several weeks.

The high school students are encouraged to work in the tutorial program. This is common to many districts. Except for the lack of tutoring space, our situation is ideal in that the student simply walks to the other end of the hall to arrive at the elementary school.

In an effort to establish contact with other districts, four of Michigan's small schools (Mackinac Island is the largest) have formed a league, initially focusing on basketball. This is a true home and home arrangement in which the visiting team stays in the homes of the host team.

A SPECIAL PROBLEM

Not heretofore mentioned but constantly a factor to be dealt with is the Indian heritage of possibly half of the students. The amount is not sufficient to warrant special grants, but it does serve as a crutch for many who view themselves in a somewhat dimmed light. It affects their attitude in school relative to academics and social life.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS IN A SMALL DISTRICT

While the foregoing statement is in the first person to create a more congruent writer-reader perspective, the following shall be one in the third person in an attempt to bring order to the description of the administration of a small school district.

The organization of a small school district necessarily follows the guideline of "a pile for everything and everything in its pile." When conditions makes it necessary to momentarily forego that policy, the "every man for himself" rule is activated. The Superintendent must prepare for meetings of the Board in between calls for more kotex in the girl's john. Reports to the State must be filled out in the same manner used by the Assistants and Secretaries of the larger districts, and then signed in blood gathered during a recess accident. Phone calls must be made to parents to request that they purchase new jackets for their children on the weekend so that a whole day of school can be rescued. Permission slips are needed after every phone call from the county nurse to insure that each student may receive the latest benefits of modern science in the area.

The State of Michigan requires that every student be in school 180 days, at a minimum of five hours each day excluding lunch and study halls. The students want to know why they can only take English, Math, Social Studies, and Science all four years of high school when their counterparts can get by with four hours of shop class on the mainland. The college professor wants to know why teachers aren't up to date on the latest methods. The Intermediate District reminds the Superintendent that aides should have in-service training. The Education Association wants more cooperation. The Civil Rights Commission wants to know how many black teachers we have. The parents want to know why teachers don't work longer hours. The teachers want a free period during the day. The Board wants to know if the toilet paper is being wasted. The cook needs spoons.

The Retirement system wants to know what happened to one dollar and four cents. Each school must have a hot lunch policy statement sent out to all parents and that statement must also go to the State. Every system must have a written code for the students' right protection. The teachers must have a Master Contract. The Federal Government Funds have deadlines, and small schools have no one to write programs either properly or on time. Title I needs an Advisory Board. Title III is worth $143.00 altogether.

A CONCLUSION

The small district is beset with many problems that stem from unrealistic press from outside agencies such as State and Federal Governments, and from the realization that much of what happens on the inside is not as it should be.

The small district has advantages that revolve around closer communications between administration, faculty, and student body. The small district offers "people" to the students and little else. Facilities are limited, yet the students seem to take less for granted. Small schools are often kept in better condition by both students and adults. The small school can vary the daily schedule and avoid boredom that can otherwise come about from routine.

The other side of the coin, the small district can be too close to the people of the community and complicate salary, professionalism questions, and other matters more efficiently handled by those in command. The faculty, although close to the students, lack variety of resource simply by virtue of lack of numbers.

In closing, it might be noted that a formal report is not in keeping with the personality of the small district. An informal discussion of a directed nature is more to the point when dealing with the problems of the small school.

MACKINAC, MICH.

[Mr. William B. Krieger, superintendent of Mackinac Island School District; 159 pupils —0 percent black; dropout 10–15 percent]

School name	Percent minority	School size	Comparative achievement scores	Percentile
Mackinac Community School:				
(4K)	47.6			10
(7K)	50.7			51

Senator MONDALE. Unfortunately we must end this morning's hearings. I want to thank everyone who participated this morning for what I thought was a very superb job, a great deal of candor. We do not always get that from the school systems.

Some of the witnesses have left. I hope you will tell them how much I appreciate the help they have provided the committee.

Thank you very much.

The committee is in recess, to reconvene at 10 a.m., on Thursday, in room 1318, of the New Senate Office Building.

(Whereupon, at 12:25 p.m., the Select Committee was recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., on November 4, 1971, in room 1318, of the New Senate Office Building.)

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN MICHIGAN

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1971

U.S. SENATE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
Washington, D.C.

The Select Committee met at 10 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 1318, of the New Senate Office Building, the Honorable Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Mondale, Philip A. Hart, and Congressman John Conyers.

Staff members present: William C. Smith, staff director and general counsel; Donn Mitchell, professional staff; Leonard Strickman, minority counsel.

Senator MONDALE. The meeting will come to order.

This morning we will be holding hearings on the situation in Pontiac, Michigan. The school district under court order is undertaking a program to desegregate the school system.

I would ask the Staff to summarize the salient portions of the order and place that in the record.*

Senator MONDALE. The first witness this morning is Dr. Dana Whitmer, superintendent of Pontiac Public Schools. With him as well will be Mr. John Irwin, president of the school board, and Mr. William Lacy, who is a part of the school administration.

STATEMENT OF DR. DANA WHITMER, SUPERINTENDENT, PONTIAC PUBLIC SCHOOLS; ACCOMPANIED BY WILLIAM LACY, OF THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

Dr. WHITMER. Good morning, Senator.

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to have this opportunity to appear before the Select Committee and speak on the issue of equal educational opportunities in Michigan, and especially in the schools of Pontiac. This presentation and my comments will represent my own views and not necessarily those of the school district or its board of education.

Furthermore, the statement which will be made has been prepared from the viewpoint of a practicing school superintendent in the urban school district of Pontiac, Michigan who is faced with the need to provide equal educational opportunities in a district that is in its first year of a court ordered integration plan.

*See Part 19C, Appendix 6.

Pontiac School District Basic Information

Pontiac is located 25 miles north of downtown Detroit. The school district covers an area of 39 square miles including all of the city of Pontiac and an area of equal size lying outside of the city.

There are 21,286 pupils currently enrolled in grades K–12. Of this number, 57.37 percent are white, 37.28 percent are black, and 5.01 percent are Spanish American. In the school district there are two senior high schools, six junior high schools, and 27 elementary schools.

The school district is a microcosm of urban America with its problems and its potentials. Pontiac is the home of two divisions of General Motors—Pontiac Motors, and Truck and Coach—which contribute excellent job opportunities and a substantial tax base to Pontiac. The school district is made up of people who, in the main, aspire to the good life and want to have good schools for their children.

The Pontiac School District History

Equal educational opportunity has been a school district concern for many years. Schools have endeavored to maintain comprehensive educational programs for all youth and have never segregated pupils because of race. Schools have always been organized on a neighborhood school basis and have served all students who happened to live in these school neighborhoods.

The growth of school population following World War II necessitated construction of a senior high school, a junior high school, and 10 elementary schools in the 1950's.

One of these new elementary schools, the Bethune School, became the center of a complaint filed with the Federal District Court in 1957 charging that the Pontiac schools were segregated and the board of education had an affirmative obligation to develop and implement a plan which would racially integrate all schools.

Testimony presented in court during the trial was comprehensive. The Court found that the charges were not supported by the evidence and that racial integration of all schools was not required in the absence of showing that there had been discrimination in school policy and practice.

During the latter part of the 1950's and the first half of the 1960's, the general nationwide conceptual shift from a policy of "color blindness" to a policy of "color consciousness" occurred in the Pontiac schools and was expressed in a variety of ways.

1. Compensatory education programs for underachievers were instituted in 1962 and since have been supplanted by Federal and State Categorical Aid Programs.

2. The Human Resource Center, an educational park, has been constructed at a cost of $6 million. The center will enroll 1,800 elementary school children, provide an innovative and forward looking educational program, replace several schools that have been racially segregated and offer a wide range of social service and educational activities for the families and adults of the area.

3. Active efforts to increase minority representation in teaching and administrative staffs have resulted in 28.7-percent black teachers and 22.77-percent black administrators on the staff in 1971–72.

4. Inservice education activities directed toward the civil rights movement and its relationship to public education have been in effect since 1965.

5. Black studies programs have become part of the regular curriculum.

6. Boundary shifts in the senior high schools have resulted in racial balance. The most recently constructed elementary schools have each been racially integrated.

7. Integrated citizen groups have been involved in both advisory capacities and study capacities.

During these years the racial composition of the school district was changing. Between 1957 and 1970 the black student population rose from 3,206 to 7,779 with the percentages of black students rising from 16 percent to 32 percent.

The concentrations of minority residents increased substantially in certain parts of the city. Schools that had been integrated became resegregated. Schools that had been virtually all white became integrated and then later became all black without changes in boundary lines except as required because of new school construction.

In the late 1960's the dispersal of black students throughout the school district was greater than ever before although the number of black students in predominantly black schools has also continued to increase.

It was against this backdrop that the school district was again in Federal Court in 1970 on a complaint similar to that of the earlier Pontiac case.

Despite the affirmative steps taken by the school district in the period intervening between the 1957 case and the 1970 case, the court found that because the school district had not taken sufficiently strong affirmative action to counteract the growth of de facto segregation in housing with its consequent effects on the racial composition of neighborhood schools, that the school district was therefore guilty of de jure segregation.

The full integration of the schools was ordered. The decision and order was upheld by the 6th Circuit Court and the petition for a review by the Supreme Court has been denied.

Pontiac School District Present Status

The 1971–72 school year began on September 7. The student population in each school had been arranged so that between 20 and 40 percent of the students were black. Faculties were arranged in a similar manner.

Elementary schools were clustered in groups of three or four with certain schools enrolling primary children, other schools enrolling upper elementary children. The selection of schools for clusters was designed to produce a percentage of black students in each school that fell within these limits.

Junior highs were organized so that each enrolled only one grade, the students drawn from half the school district.

Implementation of this plan necessitated establishment of a cross-city busing program involving approximately 8,200 students. The plan requires students to go to their home or neighborhood school at which

point they are transported to their assigned school in the morning and returned in the evening.

Total school enrollment on October 1, 1971, was 21,319 students, 2,684 students under the projected enrollment of 24,003. Enrollment for the current year declined by 2,488 students from last year, 1970.

It is too early to assess the ultimate effect of the integration under court order in Pontiac, but some tentative observations can be advanced now that appear to have some relevance to the issue of equal educational opportunity. These which reflect problems are capsuled in the following short statements:

> The school district had to reduce regular school programs and services by approximately $700,000 to pay for the costs of the busing plan.
>
> Approximately 11 percent of the students have left the district, or are enrolled in private schools. The great majority of these are white students. Black enrollments increased by 5 percent this year to a total of 37 percent
>
> The community has been in turmoil. Ten school buses were burned. Intemperate and exaggerated public pronouncements have been made. Schools and school facilities have been picketed by sign carrying citizens. The National Action Group has conducted student boycotts. Other demonstrations against busing have occurred.
>
> The tensions which are expressed in the community are reflected in certain schools and impair the maintenance of a reasonably good atmosphere for learning.
>
> Conflicts between black and white students, particularly in the 9th grade junior highs and the senior highs have been a problem, especially in the first month of this school year.
>
> Many parents and students have serious apprehensions for their safety at a strange school in another part of the city in what is feared to be a hostile environment.

The observations which suggest the possibility of potential positive elements in the Pontiac integration plan appear in these short statements:

> The majority of students appear to be adjusting rather well to their integrated schools.
>
> The beginnings of joint action by black and white students to improve the interpersonal relationships in schools is seen.
>
> The great majority of teachers and principals in schools are working with great diligence and dedication to maintain good education for all children in their new setting.
>
> The majority of parents, including the PTA Council, regardless of their view on busing, have supported the need for good schools and safe schools and are sending their children to school.
>
> The beginnings of joint efforts by black and white parents to work together and to support the schools their children attend is surfacing.

The educational scene in Pontiac today is a mixture of problems and potential promise. The Pontiac experience has been too short to evaluate the effect of mandated racial integration on the equality of educational opportunity. But this experience does point up three ingredients which are required by a school district which is faced with a mandatory integration order if that school district is also going to be

in a position to deliver equality of educational opportunity for all students. It is felt that these have relevance to these inquiries which are being conducted by the Select Committee.

Need for National Integration Policy

First, there is a great need for a national policy which clearly sets forth what is required of all public schools with reference to racial integration. There is a great need that such a policy be applicable throughout all of America and all of its school districts. And this policy, whatever it might be, should have the support of all three branches of Government.

The confusion in a community faced with the necessity for integrating its schools which comes from the varied court decisions on this matter, the varied pronouncements from officials of government, and the conflicting activities of government has made it virtually impossible for citizens to understand what is required of them, or for State or local boards of education to know the direction they should take in planning for the years ahead.

It has been most difficult for many Pontiac citizens to accept, understand and support the need for Pontiac to integrate its schools while, with one exception, all other school districts of the State have no such obligation. Achievement of equality of educational opportunity is impaired in Pontiac by the absence of such a national policy.

Governmental Support System

Second, there is a great need for a governmental support system which is designed to bring the resources which are needed to achieve equality of educational opportunity to every school district which is required to implement an integration plan.

It is not believed that equal educational opportunities will automatically follow desegregation. The educational resources required by the very needs of students, many of whom are disadvantaged, must parallel desegregation efforts if equality is to be achieved. This has been recognized by the United States Commission on Civil Rights in its publication, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, as follows:

> Many Negro children attending desegregated schools are able to compete successfully without special help. However, in desegregated schools with disadvantaged pupils, it often has been found that supportive services are needed. Such services include tutoring programs, reduced class size, increased teaching staff, and teacher aides.

Kenneth D. Clark writes that:

> Any effective plan must (1) reduce school segregation, (2) bring better educational services, and (3) hold white pupils, even more, bring more back into the public school system . . . The goals of integration and quality education must be sought together, they are interdependent, one is not possible without the other.

And David C. Cohen speaks to this point as follows:

> Desegregation is a very important element in eliminating inequality of opportunity, but it is clearly not all that is required . . . a great deal of educational improvement will also be required.

The need for a support system which can deliver the resources needed to enrich and improve educational programs is illustrated in

Pontiac where educational programs and services had to be cut by approximately $700,000 to meet the costs of the integration plan.

The schools were required to integrate at the same time that educational programs were impoverished. In this circumstance it is not possible to meet the criterion of improved educational programs as an integral part of an integration plan. Money to do the job well is one part of such a support system.

If schools integrate, they need to guarantee success by all students, and especially the disadvantaged students, and it becomes essential that the resources of the three branches of government be coordinated in a support system designed to achieve this goal.

Regionalized School Organization

Third, if a national policy evolves which requires racial integration in all school districts located in areas where there are minority populations, it appears to be necessary that some form of regionalized school system be established. Virtually all black residents in the Pontiac area live in Pontiac. This pattern is repeated in urban centers throughout America.

Mandatory racial integration of school districts as now organized frequently accelerates the movement of whites to the suburbs.

Municipalities become increasingly black and problems of segregation, greater than those faced today, are created.

It is clear that mandatory integration within existing urban districts will not create stable, integrated populations but rather will make for greater racial segregation.

If, therefore, it becomes national policy that all schools be integrated, some form of regionalized school organization must be devised and implemented.

This concludes my prepared statement.

Senator Mondale. Thank you very much, Dr. Whitmer, for your very fine statement.

What is the per pupil expenditure level in Pontiac?

Dr. Whitmer. It is just a bit over $1,000 per pupil this year.

Senator Mondale. And that includes Federal support?

Dr. Whitmer. No, this includes our general funds budget. In addition to that we would have to add, oh, I would say between $100 and $200 per pupil from the categorical aid programs that are operating in the district.

Senator Mondale. Do you receive any Section 3 assistance under your State Compensatory Education Program?

Dr. Whitmer. Yes, we do, and I included that in the figure of $100 to $200 extra. Both the State and the Federal categorical aids are included in that.

Senator Mondale. So in terms of per pupil expenditure, are you not the highest—maybe in the top quarter of the school districts in Michigan in terms of per pupil expenditures?

Dr. Whitmer. I think that is correct.

Senator Mondale. I think you indicated you have about 57-percent white, 37-percent black, and the remainder are other minorities.

Is that approximately right?

Dr. Whitmer. Yes, sir.

Senator Mondale. Five percent Mexican Americans. Is that correct?

Dr. WHITMER. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Before the Court order, did you have all-black schools in your system?

Dr. WHITMER. We had a number of schools that were for all practical purposes all-b'ack.

Senator MONDALE. Were they primarily elementary schools, or high schools as well? Did you have any all-black or predominantly black high schools?

Dr. WHITMER. Not high schools. There was one junior high school that was virtually all-black and the others were elementary schools.

Senator MONDALE. I see.

RACIAL BALANCE PLAN

Now, under the court order you have pursued a policy of what, essentially racial balance?

Dr. WHITMER. Yes. The standards that were set, under which we organized the integration plan, provided that we should have between 20- and 40-percent black students in every school.

Senator MONDALE. A swing of 20 to 40 percent?

Dr. WHITMER. That is right.

Senator MONDALE. Has that variance been approved by the court, or is that a local school district decision?

Dr. WHITMER. No, this has been approved by the court.

Senator MONDALE. And this integration plan went into effect at the beginning of this school season?

Dr. WHITMER. That is correct.

Senator MONDALE. Now, since that time you have had some of the difficulties to which you have made reference. You indicated there had been some white flight—some had left the district, some had gone to private schools.

Approximately what percentage of the student body that would have been expected to attend school are not attending school in Pontiac?

Dr. WHITMER. Well, our enrollment was approximately 2,800 students below the projection. So the 2,800 students are those that had been expected to be in attendance who are not in attendance.

Senator MONDALE. Is the number of absentees dropping or is it somewhat stabilized?

Dr. WHITMER. The average daily attendance appears to be stabilized. That is, of the number enrolled, the number that attend school each day seems to be stable.

Senator MONDALE. When school began, you had something like 40 percent of your expected enrollment absent.

Is that correct?

Dr. WHITMER. There were days when this is correct, and during that first several weeks of the school term, both enrollments were increasing and attendance was increasing, but the absenteeism was at least twice as high or three times as high on certain days as is normal. We usually think of a normal absenteeism as about 10 percent.

Senator MONDALE. You say that absenteeism has stabilized, that it does not seem to be getting worse or better?

Dr. WHITMER. No. The attendance has stabilized in the last 3 weeks except for one date, the date of October 25th, on which the National

Action Group had called a boycott. On that day our attendance was approximately 68 percent of the total enrollment.

But since that time and prior to that time the attendance seemed to be in the normal range.

Senator MONDALE. What percentage of absenteeism did you have the previous year, before the integration order?

Dr. WHITMER. Well, it is my memory that generally our absenteeism runs between 9 and 11 percent. On a normal basis.

Senator MONDALE. In previous years?

Dr. WHITMER. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. So that absenteeism this year is no higher than the previous year or are we talking about different things?

Dr. WHITMER. No, we are talking about the same thing. I indicated that during the early part of this year absenteeism was running two or three times the normal rate and I mentioned the particular date.

But other than that, attendance appears to be normal.

Senator MONDALE. So that *at this point it seems to have stabilized* into a rather normal situation in terms of the percentage of absenteeism?

Dr. WHITMER. That is correct.

Senator MONDALE. Is there something about the nature of absenteeism this year that is different from last year?

Dr. WHITMER. I guess I can't offer a response to your question, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. You don't know of any difference?

APPREHENSIONS OF PARENTS

Dr. WHITMER. Well, again I would point out that on the day of the boycott where there was a deliberate effort to keep children out of school, this obviously was reflected in our low attendance. And during the early weeks or the first month, the first 4 weeks of the school year, I think it was quite clear from the information we had that many children were out of school for two reasons.

One was that their parents didn't want them to go to school. There was a resistance to attending school. There was an effort to prevent attendance.

And, secondly, the parents were apprehensive about having their children go across town to a school or into a hostile environment, as they saw it, and there was a great deal of tension that affected people.

Senator MONDALE. For whatever reason, at least at this point, absenteeism has now returned to a normal rate of approximately 10 percent, which is about what you had the previous year?

Dr. WHITMER. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Would you take that to mean then that many of the apprehensions which the parents felt have been reduced to the point where they feel their children can safely be sent to school?

Dr. WHITMER. That is my opinion.

That is, that the people have concluded that this is the desirable course of action for the children to take, for them to take, and they are doing it.

Now, they do it, I am sure in some cases, with some apprehension, but they do it nevertheless. They believe the children should be in school.

Senator MONDALE. Now, a parent who had such apprehension, if he consulted with you and said: "Might I safely send my children to these schools now that they are integrated?" What could you tell him?

Dr. WHITMER. Well, I have had that question posed to me many times, and I respond in this way: That the reported incidents that we have through our reporting system and our review of the general condition within the schools, with our administrators and people who are responsible from the schools indicate to us that there is no great hazard that should be of that much concern to the parents.

Now, we have never had schools that were free of incidents and free of some assaults and free of things of this kind. And we are saying that the measures which we have taken since the beginning of the school year to assure the safety and welfare of the students, through the monitors that have been employed and through the safety precautions, have made it possible for children to go to school safely.

When I say "safely," I do not mean with guaranteed 100-percent safety, because schools never have done that, never could do that. But in terms of the level of incidents and the level of students' behavior in the schools today, as compared with other years, we would say, yes, your children should go to school and you should not be unduly fearful about it.

Senator MONDALE. Did you have some difficulty at the outset, the implementation of this order, in light of all of the obvious current tensions, the boycott and the rest, which may have aggravated intergroup relations at the beginning of school, which now may be abating?

Dr. WHITMER. I think this is true in several ways.

We had picketing by adults in the first few weeks of the school year. It is our opinion that this affected the behavior of students that had to go through the picket lines or had to go to school and be aware of the fact that there were adults picketing, carrying signs and so on. This was one thing.

EXTERNAL FORCES RESPONSIBLE

The first day of the school year, as Central High School was dismissed, the students were leaving the school, off the school grounds heading for home and there were a whole series of assaults by non-school young people on students.

And quite a number of students were injured enough that they were hospitalized, at least through the emergency room of the hospital. That was that one day and it was not repeated after that.

There were certain actions taken by the communities and by the schools which assisted in that. Where picketing has continued, at the Kennedy Junior High School, and there have been pickets as recently as a week ago, the staff of the school will say that very definitely the amount of tension in the school and behavior of students and the possibility of altercations among students is higher when the pickets are there than when they are not.

So there have been these external forces, I am sure, that have affected what has happened in the schools.

Senator MONDALE. Have you received any help from the Federal Government as you try to go through this period you have been describing? Any Federal assistance through Title IV or through the Emergency School Desegregation Program or have you asked for any?

Dr. WHITMER. We have a grant in the amount of $278,000 under the Emergency School Assistance Program. And we have in addition received consultant help under the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare——

Senator MONDALE. Has that been helpful to you?

Dr. WHITMER. The consultant help, I can answer the question better at the end of the year, because the consultant help has been chiefly interested in helping us devise inservice educational programs for school employees.

And we are in the process of devising those now, so it is a little early to answer the question. But they have made themselves available and they are anxious to be of every help they can in this connection.

COST OF TRANSPORTATION

Senator MONDALE. Now, the biggest financial item that you have apparently is the cost of transportation, of busing. I think you used a figure of $700,000.

Is that correct?

Dr. WHITMER. That is right.

Senator MONDALE. Is that the cost of acquiring additional buses or the cost of operating them or both?

Dr. WHITMER. Well, that figure includes one-sixth of the cost of acquiring the new buses. They will be paid for over a 6-year period, so the capital cost is amortized in that way.

The remainder of the costs are operational costs for operating buses, for supervision of students, for all of the things that you do to make it work.

Senator MONDALE. Couldn't the Federal Government have helped substantially if it had provided all or most of that $700,000, so it didn't have to come out of the school system, and some of the qualitative human and compensatory programs to which you referred?

Dr. WHITMER. Yes, it is my opinion that the support system, such as I referred to, would include financial resources to pay for the costs of the integration plan or the transportation in the integration plan, but would also make possible the compensatory programs or the school enrichment which really are an integral part of achievements of equality in educational opportunity.

So I see those two needs in which the Federal Government could be of great assistance.

Senator MONDALE. Have you seen the Quality Integrated School Act we passed in the Senate? It is pretty close to what you are talking about?

Dr. WHITMER. No, I am not familiar with it.

Senator MONDALE. So here you are, your school is under court order to desegregate, and it is the policy of the Federal Government, as I understand it, not to provide assistance for the transportation.

Don't you find yourself somewhat in the middle there?

Dr. WHITMER. Very much so. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Don't you think it would be far better, in light of the fact that the courts have ordered desegregation in your case—it is now a Supreme Court decision for all practical purposes—if the Federal Government wished to help, to come in and provide assistance for the cost of busing?

Dr. WHITMER. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. What about the situation today in terms of the quality of education that you are delivering to the children and young people in your school system. In your opinion has the situation stabilized to the point that you are able to continue the same standard of education that you delivered, say, last year to the schoolchildren, or has it suffered some?

REDUCTIONS IN PROGRAMS AND SERVICE

Dr. WHITMER. The general financial problem for our schools, which affects Pontiac—in our case, coupled with the additional cost of busing program—has required the Pontiac school district to reduce educational programs and service to students this year.

These reductions occur in the reduction of the number of specialist teachers we have, almost a one-third reduction in the instructional materials and supplies for the schools, reduction in the number of counselors in the secondary schools, and programs of this kind.

So in this sense the school district programs are impoverished this year as compared with last year.

Senator MONDALE. But had the Federal Government or someone else picked up the cost of the desegregation expenses to which you made reference, you would have been providing educational services that, essentially, were at the same level as last year, would you not?

Dr. WHITMER. Possibly not at quite the same level, but we would be providing educational service, $700,000 worth more than we are.

Senator MONDALE. If you were confronted by a parent who said, "If I send my children to the Pontiac schools, will I receive a quality education for my children roughly equivalent to that delivered last year?" What would you tell him?

Dr. WHITMER. In answer to a question like that, I would indicate factually what cuts had to be made in the educational program for the reasons that have already been mentioned, and then I would say to that parent within these resources we can guarantee that everything will be done within our power to provide quality education.

But the quantity of things available is less and, of course, I can't argue that that does not affect the quality.

Senator MONDALE. What is your total budget this year, approximately?

Dr. WHITMER. It will be approximately $21 million.

Senator MONDALE. $21.7 million, and your budget has been clipped by some $700,000 for busing costs.

Dr. WHITMER. Well, the busing costs are in that $21.7 million.

Senator MONDALE. What was it last year?

Dr. WHITMER. Last year it was $22.5 million.

Senator MONDALE. Why would you be down nearly $1 million?

LOSS IS IN STATE AID

Dr. WHITMER. Part of the reason is the problems of financing in the State of Michigan, which affects the school district.

Actually the revenues to finance the school district this year is less than last year and most of the loss is in State aid, it is not the local property taxes. That is part of it. But, of course—well, that is it.

Senator MONDALE. I follow that.

So that the difference in the total amount being spent for the school children in your school system has dropped modestly, and I suppose you have to consider inflation in this as well.

But apart from that, would you say that the quality of school instruction being delivered in your school system is as good as it was last year?

Dr. WHITMER. I would say that ruling out the cuts that we mentioned, and talking about what we have, what is going on, and with some exception for the 9th grade junior high schools and the senior high schools where some people yet appear to be quite apprehensive, and this does not fear with the education, with those two exceptions, I would answer yes.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Hart?

Senator HART. Superintendent and gentlemen, I apologize for being late and for being interrupted during a portion of your testimony. I came in late as a result of having to testify before another committee.

And the interruption and my having to leave early is because we have a responsibility to hear these nominees to the Supreme Court. But I did want to get in first to thank you for your willingness to help Senator Mondale and his committee, and all of us to better understand all of the circumstances, as you see them evolving in Pontiac subsequent to the court order.

I am sure that the record that will be made today will enable all of us to have a better understanding of the concerns, the facts, and hopefully a better appreciation of what our responsibilities are.

I shall not ask several questions I have in mind, because as I was talking about Supreme Court Justices on one side I think I heard Senator Mondale ask about the degree to which the Federal Government has and what suggestions you have as to what additional things the Federal Government should do to help in Pontiac. That was what I wanted to get in the record and I am glad it is in the record.

I was here when you stated in one portion of your testimony about the tensions that certain external actions have created, or perhaps more accurately, certain external actions contributed to a heightening of tensions that were already there among the schools.

The Governor of Virginia, whose schoolchildren, I understand, are involved in a court order, desegregation plan, has suggested that we leave reactions to busing to the children because, he suggests, they are more flexible and have fewer preconceptions.

Is that a sound suggestion?

Dr. WHITMER. I would concur in that judgment generally, yes.

Senator HART. Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. Congressman Conyers.

Mr. CONYERS. First of all, let me thank Senator Mondale for inviting me to join in these hearings. We are all deeply interested in this question, and I am especially grateful that the parties to the Pontiac controversy are here.

Have you had occasion, sir, to testify on the House side?

Dr. WHITMER. No.

Mr. CONYERS. Might I just ask one question that concerns me? It seems to me that there are two considerations involved in trying to readjust the racial imbalance. One is the actual operation; and, two, is the misconceptions and the sometimes hysteria that accompanies the actual rearrangements and combinations that are necessary.

Do you have any suggestions to those of us in Congress, and to organizations and citizens as well, as to what might be done to reduce the tension, which is itself certainly more harmful than anything that comes as a result of our efforts to comply with the court order?

Dr. WHITMER. Two of the suggestions appearing in my statement bear on your question.

It seems to me it would be very valuable if we had a national policy which clearly set forth the obligation the schools had with reference to this question. I think there is a great deal of confusion in the minds of people today—I am talking about the public, the parents—and it is very difficult in the face of this confusion in trying to reduce tension.

A second suggestion was made that we have to look, if there is a national policy, and if this national policy is that schools shall be racially integrated throughout the length and breadth of this land, then we have to look to a reorganization of the school system on some kind of a reasonable basis to get away from the developing problem of pockets of minority people, such as have occurred in the urban cities of America.

Otherwise people that have an option to move, if they don't approve of what is going to happen in the school district, will find another one. And this becomes self-defeating in terms of the equality of treatment of all of the schools.

So those two suggestions came from my statement.

Mr. CONYERS. Let me commend you. Notwithstanding all we have heard about the situation in your city, you seem to be still well composed, able to address yourself to the subject with great articulateness.

I am pleased that this committee would have you come to Washington. I only hope that we can share him on the other side of the Congress, Senator, because I think this kind of testimony is important.

This week a very regrettable activity was concluded in the House, when it declined to support a piece of legislation for emergency school aid which would have sent $44 million into the State of Michigan to aid those schools which were working under court order.

I think that superintendents like yourself who are in the eye of the hurricane could give a great deal of assistance by helping members of Congress to formulate their attitudes on this very important subject. I am pleased to have been here to hear your testimony.

Dr. WHITMER. Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Hart?

Senator HART. I don't know whether this is a fair question to ask you, but the plan that the Federal District Court—what is the word—adopted or promulgated, was recommended to the court by the Pontiac school system? What is the evolution of the plan?

Maybe Mr. Lacy could answer that.

Mr. LACY. The court order required that the school district develop a plan which provided comprehensive and total integration within the schools. It was the obligation of the school district to develop a plan which met those requirements and present it to the court.

A plan was developed and approved by the District Court prior to the appeal and the decision by the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals. After the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals rendered its decision, the District Court gave the school district permission to revise the plan.

However, the revised plan met the racial limits which the court approved in the first plan. The limits were that no school was to have less than 20-percent or more than 40-percent black students.

The plan was developed by the school district, but it was developed after it had been ordered to have a plan providing for total and comprehensive integration of students and staff.

Senator HART. And that order defined total and comprehensive as one where 20 to 40 percent—was that in the order itself?

BURDEN ON SCHOOL DISTRICT

Mr. LACY. That was not in the order, sir. The school district was not given instructions beyond total and comprehensive. The school district had the burden of defining total and comprehensive, in a way that we felt would be acceptable to the court.

We did confer with officials of HEW, attempted to follow other court actions around the country, and developed a 20–40 limit which we thought the school district could meet with the kind of plan that was developed, and those were approved by the Federal District Court.

Senator HART. Have any of you had an opportunity to go into any of those cities—which, 10 years ago, were in the same sort of turmoil there is in Pontiac now over a court order—to see what it is like after the dust has settled?

Dr. WHITMER. No, we have not.

As a matter of interest and information, I visited the school district in Berkeley, California, and Evanston, Illinois. But at the time we visited them, they had just gone into a new plan, so that 10 years of background was not present in either case.

Senator HART. I think all of us understand what you mean when you urge that among other things there be a national policy. But wouldn't you agree there is a national policy with respect to school systems that are found to be de jure segregated? There is a national policy that says the 14th amendment has been violated and we have the problem of either fixing it or forgetting it. Isn't that the national policy?

Dr. WHITMER. I would raise this question, Senator Hart. I am not trained in the law and I always feel a little apprehensive about speaking to questions that you should be trained in the law to speak to with any authority.

Senator HART. To make it a little easier, I didn't mean to suggest, even assuming I have defined correctly the national policy, that included in that policy statement are answers to the particular circumstances in every community where that constitutional violation has occurred. I didn't mean that.

But we do know what the rule of law is now with respect to that kind of situation.

DEFINITION OF DE JURE SEGREGATION

Dr. WHITMER. Let me make this comment as a lay person and if I am in error, on legal grounds, I accept that. School superintendents and other lay people have thought for a long time that de jure segregation and segregation was rooted in the dual school system, where

once the school district had actually operated two separate school systems and the vestiges of that was still present.

And if they were identified, why the school district was then accused of segregation. The interpretation in the Pontiac case as I understand it was made on different grounds, because the State Constitution in Michigan has prevented segregation and discrimination and the school district has never had a dual school system.

The grounds that were used by the court were that the very fact that there are black schools, or there were at that time in Pontiac, that had not been rooted out or had not been corrected by some affirmative action of the school district, the fact that they existed, was evidence that this was de jure segregation.

Now, from the common understanding of people like myself, not trained in the law, this represents a different definition in a sense of de jure segregation.

I think this point is still one that is seen differently by a great many lay people and not understood.

I am not sure that I understand it entirely myself.

Senator HART. I think what you are saying is that the facts that led to the conclusion that this was de jure were different than those in the earlier cases where it was simply a dual system.

But it is a separate question whether or not there is in fact segregation for which public authority has a responsibility. But once the courts find, whatever the reasoning may be, that you do have de jure segregation, you get the second question where I suggest there is a national policy; namely, that it does violate a constitutional guarantee that it denies a constitutional guarantee and we have to respond to that. There is a national policy until you amend the Constitution or suggest there is a Mason-Dixon Line in the Constitution which I have never found.

We know what the policy is.

Dr. WHITMER. I think in a legal sense this is true, Senator Hart. But I would also point out that it is very difficult today for a board of education, faced with whatever problems it is faced with in terms of the minorities of a school district, to know exactly what guidelines it should follow to identify itself with and follow through the *Schwann* decision. It is very difficult.

Senator HART. That we do understand.

Dr. WHITMER. This was my point.

Senator HART. Yes.

Thank you.

COMMUNITY OPPOSITION BASED ON SAFETY

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

I just wanted to ask one more question.

There is a group, of course, in your community strongly opposed to the implementation of the court order, and its key argument seems to be that there is so much violence in the schools, it has risen so dramatically, that it is unsafe for children to be students in the Pontiac school system.

Do you regard those statements as being an exaggeration, and, if so, would you describe how you deal with that claim?

Dr. WHITMER. I do regard those statements as an exaggeration. We recognize that there has been, especially during the first month of the school year, an increase in the number of altercations among students and incidents of this kind.

But we do not, or I should say, I do not believe that the safety, the general safety, as included in the statement you made and the statement made by the National Action Group, is jeopardized to the extent that the remedies they have offered, closing down the schools or more policy in the schools, are justified.

In other words, we were very candid to recognize the problems that existed, but to draw the conclusion from the evidence we have to say the schools are not safe and these other drastic measures should be taken, are not warranted by the facts in my opinion.

Now, I should point out that it is most difficult to get facts. We collect reports from the schools on all incidents, and these are available for study by the board of education, for the press, it is not hidden information, yet people will say there are other things you don't know about, and, of course, this may be true.

So this is one of the areas you have trouble with. We get reports from the Pontiac Police Department of school-related criminal offenses and they include in those things that happen when school is out, during the time children are going home, and before school starts, during the time the children are going to school, and they include offenses that occur at the service building, when people picketed the buses and arrests were made.

Those were all in their reports. And, of course, when you compare those figures this year with last year, you have no comparable situation last year. You didn't have people reporting things last year as they are this year. You didn't have arrests at the service building last year as you do this year.

You didn't have pickets last year. So to just look at those figures and get an inference that inside the schools there is a degree of violence that makes them unsafe is, in my opinion, completely erroneous.

DIFFICULTIES OF TRANSPORTATION PROGRAM

Senator MONDALE. Another argument is that the amount of busing is burdensome, if children have to ride the buses for such a long period it detracts from education.

Would you comment on how you see that issue?

Dr. WHITMER. The children are handicapped in one sense in that they are not as free to participate in afterschool activities and it is much more difficult to maintain afterschool activities than it had been when we were operating the neighborhood school, because on that basis the children just walked home when the activity was over.

Now, there has to be a second transportation line set up, and the children have to leave the school at the time the bus leaves, not when the activity is over.

So it has handicapped them in that way.

As far as we know, the longest run is about 6 or 6½ miles, and inasmuch as Pontiac is a fairly compact school district, the child might spend as long as an hour on the bus and waiting for the bus and getting home from the bus stop.

Senator MONDALE. Would that be a standard period—1 hour?

Dr. WHITMER. No, I would say that is possibly the longest time, unless the child lives out of the township and has a distance problem.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have a figure, anyone here at the table, what the average time and distance is for children riding? If you do, I think it would be helpful.

DISTANCE AND TRAVELING TIME

Mr. LACY. I can comment on that, Senator.

The greatest distance for an elementary child, that is in grades 1 through 6, is 6 miles, and the average distance is 3 3/10ths miles.

For a junior high school child, the greatest distance is 5 miles and the average is 3 7/10ths miles.

Those figures are based on school-to-school busing. There are a few cases where children were bused to the home school last year, and are still bused to get them in the vicinity of the home school and that distance might be added to it.

But the distances resulting from the integration plan are those I gave.

Senator MONDALE. What is the average time spent on the bus, do you know?

Mr. LACY. The busing plan was set up with an objective of having no child spend more than 30 minutes on the bus. There are, I believe, not more than 25 exceptions to that, unless in those situations where children were bused to a school last year and that might be added onto the busing time that resulted from the integration plan.

Senator MONDALE. What about safety and discipline on the buses?

Mr. LACY. There are problems on the buses; and there are some buses that have adults riding on them. The children are under supervision of professional persons and/or lay persons when they are waiting for the bus at a school and after they depart from the bus at a school.

Senator MONDALE. Is safety and discipline a big problem on the buses in your opinion?

Mr. LACY. I do not feel that there is an unusually difficult problem in terms of the general kinds of problems we have had in the school district. We have always had some problems with discipline of children on school buses.

Senator MONDALE. Is it demonstrably greater today than it was?

Mr. LACY. It is greater than it was last year. Or the problems have been greater during the first 5 or 6 weeks of school. This is the 9th week of school, and it seems that the general discipline problems and problems of behavior are decreasing rapidly.

Senator MONDALE. Decreasing rapidly?

Mr. LACY. Yes, sir.

PREVIOUS BUSING

Senator MONDALE. How much was spent by the school district for busing last year?

Mr. LACY. I don't have that figure.

Senator MONDALE. How many buses did you have?

Mr. LACY. About 50 is the figure that sticks in my mind. I don't know precisely.

Senator MONDALE. Approximately how many students were bused last year?

Mr. LACY. We had approximately 3,200 students bused last year.

Senator MONDALE. 3,200?

Mr. LACY. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. Were some of those bused to elementary schools?

Mr. LACY. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. Were there any protests against that last year?

Mr. LACY. I am not aware of protests regarding those students that were being bused. Most of them that were bused came from outside the city of Pontiac.

There has been a certain amount of dissatisfaction regarding students that were not bused, and there have been petitions, the board of education has been encouraged to bus students that were not bused within the city.

Senator MONDALE. You mean there were some families who wanted their children to be bused and they were not bused? That is the kind of criticism you have had in the past?

Mr. LACY. That is my understanding.

Senator MONDALE. So when they picket against busing, it is certain kinds of busing apparently that they have in mind, not all busing.

Mr. LACY. I agree wth that. I have lived through school consolidation programs. It is my opinion that busing becomes very unpopular and becomes, in the minds of people, bad for children when it is associated with something that parents object to.

Senator MONDALE. And they direct the objection at the bus rather than, sometimes, the thing that is really bothering them.

Mr. LACY. That is my personal feeling.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

Our next witness is Mr. Irwin, president of the school board.

Mr. Irwin, will you proceed?

STATEMENT OF JOHN K. IRWIN, PRESIDENT, PONTIAC SCHOOL BOARD

Mr. IRWIN. Gentlemen, the Supreme Court of the United States has, within the last 30 days by the unanimous vote of its seven remaining members, refused to hear the appeal of the Pontiac Board of Education from the order of the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals affirming the judgment of the Federal District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan Southern Division.

The District Court in February of 1970 issued its opinion and order finding the school board guilty of de jure segregation. The District Court held that the board had the duty to affirmatively integrate the system and found that during the 10-year period prior to the suit, the board had so located its schools so as to further, rather than to reduce, segregation of the races.

As a part of its order, the District Court required the board to submit a plan, or plans to correct the condition of segregation that it found. Through its administration, the board subsequently submitted two plans.

The first, a "freedom of choice" plan was summarily rejected by the court while the second, which called for substantial busing within

the district, and an abandonment of the neighborhood concept, was adopted by the court.

With some amendments this plan is in effect at the present time. In general, the plan in effect provides that all kindergarten children still go to neighborhood schools. In the other elementary grades, schools are racially paired and all children in the paired schools attend grades one through three inclusive or grades four through six inclusive either in the neighborhood school or are bused to the paired school.

Pontiac School District has six junior high or middle schools, three of which have been assigned to the west side of the district, and three to the east side.

One school on each side of the district is assigned all 7th grade students, one school receives all 8th grade students, and the third receives all 9th grade students. There are two high schools in the district and board action, from time to time, has caused these schools to substantially reflect the racial balance of the district and, therefore, they are operated in approximately the same manner as prior to the court order.

Thirty years ago Pontiac School District was the hub of an area which included not only the city of Pontiac but at least the six surrounding townships of Waterford, Bloomfield, West Bloomfield, Orion, Pontiac, and Avon. At that time, Pontiac School District received high school students from all of these areas on a tuition basis and some students from some of these areas in other grades, depending on the development of the various township school systems. As the years passed the townships have grown in population much faster than the city and now, all of the above townships have their own schools from kindergarten through 12th grade.

It cannot be said, however, that these townships have a "neighborhood" school system if the word "neighborhood" means living within walking distance from the school as each of the named school districts operates a fleet of buses and each school day transports a large percentage of their students. The operation of the school buses in the various townships is financed largely through state assistance.

In the Pontiac School District, as is probably true of every school district within the United States, in order to provide buildings, supplies, proper administration and teachers and have them available where and when necessary, the administration has for many years been making student projections based, among other things, on the yearly census of 5-year-olds and on the experience of the past.

In other years these projections have been extremely accurate as to both the number and location of students. Beginning with the school year commencing September 1970, the projections have not proved to be accurate. The Pontiac School District was approximately 1,000 students below the projected enrollment for September 1970, and in September 1971, the district was approximately 2,700 students below the projected enrollment.

For the most part, this drop in enrollment was a white student loss. As far as is known, some of these students were sent to private schools, mostly parochial schools, while in other cases the students and their parents moved to the surrounding townships.

Published information indicates that the city of Pontiac has a racial mix of approximately 70-percent white and 30-percent black in a toal

population of approximately 80,000 people. The school district of the city of Pontiac has almost double the geographical areas of the city and that area outside the city has a population of approximately 60,000.

Almost all of the population living outside the city is white. In the school year commencing September 1971, the school population was over 36-percent black, an increase of over 4 percent from the September 1970 figures.

Under the order of the Federal District Court, the integration plan was to operate so that in each of the schools of the district there should be no less than 20- and no more than 40-percent black children. It is my opinion that, if the trend of the last 2 years continues for 1 more year, the district will be unable to comply with the order.

Won the Battle—Lost the War

If the information contained in the preceding paragraph is correct, or substantially so; and, if the purpose of the Pontiac branch of the NAACP in instituting their action against the Pontiac Board of Education was to integrate the district; then, in my opinion, while the NAACP may have won a battle they have lost the war because the district will, within less than 10 years if the trend indicated above continues, be a segregated, black district.

Following the February 1970 order of the Federal District Judge to integrate the Pontiac School District, the Pontiac area witnessed a great deal of white-organized and semiorganized opposition to the Court order. The center of the organized effort was in the north side of the city and began with a group calling themselves the "Concerned Parents."

Various factions within the group became dissatisfied and in the spring of 1971 a new group known as the Northside Action Group emerged. This group has, since its organization, broadened its scope and now calls itself National Action Group or NAG. National publications have referred to Pontiac as a "blue-collar, industrial town" and certainly the area is one of the strongholds of the UAW.

NAG has used many of the union devises to put pressure on the board and to gain publicity for itself. As the September 1971 school year began, NAG commenced mass picketing of the school bus depot and of various northside schools. Attempts were made to disrupt bus schedules by stalling private autos in front of buses, walking in the path of buses and otherwise.

In fact, the publicly announced goal of NAG was to bankrupt the district. Bankruptcy was to be accomplished by taking advantage of the fact that Pontiac School District is financed approximately one-third by State aid and that State aid is based in part on enrollment figures.

Michigan has a compulsory attendance law which requires each school district within the State to furnish a place for all of the district's children from the first through the 12th grade.

State aid is calculated on the basis of student enrollment on the 4th Friday of the school year and for the 1971–72 school year the variable portion had been calculated to be approximately $205 per student.

By a reduction in the number of students through the 4th Friday of the school year, the State aid money would be lost to the district and yet the district would be required to educate them.

Accordingly, NAG called for a boycott. As stated before, the district suffered a drop of approximately 2,700 students below the enrollment of the prior year and Pontiac school system stands to lose approximately $553,500 in State aid.

When it became obvious that because of provisions in the district's contract with its teachers, because of some Federal aid and because of possible revisions in the State's "count date" that the NAG boycott would not in itself bankrupt the district the boycott was called off only to be reinstated shortly thereafter. The second student boycott was called because of allegations by NAG that the district was unable or unwilling to cope with violence in the schools and to "guarantee" the safety of the school children.

The implications to the district, moneywise, of this second boycott are found in the fact that to qualify a day as one of the 180 days required in order to receive State aid, attendance must equal 70 percent or better. Following the reinstitution of the boycott, there has been one day, the first day, when attendance has fallen below the required 70 percent.

Amendment To Prohibit Forced Busing

In the Pontiac area much has been heard concerning a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution which would prohibit "forced busing of students." It is my opinion that even the consideration of such an amendment causes, and will continue to cause, a flight of white families from the district to the adjacent areas. The local newspaper carried a study that stated that, on the average, a constitutional amendment takes approximately 7 years between the time of its proposal and the time it becomes a part of the Constitution.

As suggested previously in this statement, the Pontiac School District could be very well resegregated or substantially resegregated by that time.

In considering the problem of integration in the schools, it appears to me that, although a person may refer to himself as a "liberal" if that person is also educated and, particularly, if he receives an above-average income, integration of the races, at least insofar as that person's own children are concerned means "their attendance at a school where the white-black ratio is no greater than 80-percent white and 20-percent black, where the whites in attendance come from families similarly situated income-wise and where the blacks in attendance come from families which are either also above-average incomes, or, in the alternative, are highly motivated scholarship-type students."

Integration "Pontiac style" does not meet this definition in ratio, in economics or in motivation. White middle-class parents in areas such as Pontiac are frustrated by the prospects of lowered educational standards due to the costs of the court-ordered program and a future black segregated system being substituted for the court-discovered white segregated system. Those parents, white or black, with the economic ability will, then, either move from the district or send their children to private schools.

It is my opinion that if Pontiac School District is to remain an educationally desirable place to live both the State and the Federal Government must both require through statutes and through a restructuring of financial aid that the various school districts in the area are merged into a district covering an area large enough so that in almost every case a person would live and work in the same district.

Students within the enlarged district could then be racially balanced over the entire district by the use of financial incentives, by construction of State- or Federal-funded housing, by busing or otherwise.

In addition, it is necessary that we as a people decide whether or not we really support the public school system as opposed to the private or parochial school system and, if we do, aid to private and parochial schools should be entirely eliminated.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for your statement.

Mr. Irwin, are you an attorney?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. As I understand it, the Burger Court has spoken several times now, not just in the Pontiac case of late, but on several different occasions; and it is now finding discrimination in Northern cities as well as the traditional dual school systems of the South.

And it seems to be saying that where discrimination is found, the school district must eliminate it, and where busing is required, the district must resort to busing as one of the instruments for doing so. Is that your understanding of the law?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, that is what the court said.

Senator MONDALE. Now, would you say then that any policy you pursue must be consistent with that legal principle?

Mr. IRWIN. I agreed with what Senator Hart said awhile ago, that if a court finds de jure segregation, this is contrary to the provisions of the 14th amendment, as it applied to the States. I think I am also suggesting that historically at least, while there might have been segregation, if it was de facto segregation, the court did not interfere with it.

COURT GOES OUT OF ITS WAY

And I think what I am saying is that in our particular case the District Court went out of its way to find de jure segregation, when it probably was de facto segregation.

Senator MONDALE. But the Sixth Circuit agreed with the District Court, not with you. Is that correct?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, the Sixth Circuit did. The Sixth Circuit didn't take any other testimony, you understand.

Senator MONDALE. You are a lawyer, what do they do on appeal? Have you ever heard of a Circuit Court taking independent testimony?

Mr. IRWIN. No.

Senator MONDALE. Then why should they? And the Supreme Court denied the appeal. Now, what I think we are seeing here are several other Northern districts—San Francisco, South Holland, Illinois, and several others—where the courts are finding official discrimination in environments which don't fit the classic dual school systems of the South.

And where they find that—then they issue remedies to eliminate that discrimination, usually remedies similar to those issued in Pontiac.

Isn't that correct?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Then as lawyers who believe in the Constitution, we have a duty then to live within that order and try to make it work, do we not?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes. I don't think I have suggested anything other than that.

Senator MONDALE. I didn't mean to suggest you said otherwise, as a matter of fact, your statement is consistent.

I just wanted to get that. Because it seems to me if we establish that first point and if we believe in law in this country—the law is now about as well established as it could be; time and time again, where discrimination is found in the school district, the courts have required that it be eliminated, it usually involves busing.

Now, then, as a matter of national policy, the question is: Do we pursue a course of massive resistance, interfering with and impeding the courts; do we try to change the Constitution; or do we try to make that work with a set of national and local educational policies which assure quality education, sensitive and respectful integration, systems of education in which children are not damaged, but in fact, do better, and try to create a school system which helps contribute to a society where we understand each other and get away from some of the uglier ramifications of racism.

In other words, isn't it a question of which way we go?

Some people would raise the option of whether we are going to enforce the law. I think you and I agree that is not an option.

Mr. IRWIN. I agree with that.

Senator MONDALE. The question is: Do we go on with a really strong national policy toward quality integrated education or do we fall back on some kind of national system of resistance? Isn't that it?

Mr. IRWIN. I guess I don't quite understand all you are saying. There is no question in my mind that once the court decides that a system is a segregated de jure system and once the appeals are finished, as to that system, there is a violation of the 14th amendment as it applies to the States and at that point I certainly don't advocate violating the law.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Hart?

Senator HART. Mr. Irwin, would you develop a little more fully, if you can, the suggestions you make as to what might be helpful in avoiding the resegregation which you caution us is going to happen in Pontiac?

REVERSAL OF RESEGREGATION TREND

Mr. IRWIN. I think it has to happen fast, too.

I am not sure that it can happen fast enough. We lost—our ratio changed 5 percent from 1970 opening of the school year to 1971. Among other things, I have suggested that the district should be changed.

I don't think that Pontiac is big enough, 21,000 students—I don't think it is big enough to carry this, because it is too easy to get out of Pontiac.

As I have suggested, the people who are affluent enough to get out will get out when they decide that their children aren't getting the kind of education they feel they need to compete in this world. I think

what the Federal Government has got to do is show some support for areas like Pontiac who have this problem.

Because I don't think we can handle it by ourselves. That is district-wise. I also think that when you have your Federal-funded programs, you are aiming your programs to disadvantaged children mostly.

Most of the money goes to disadvantaged children. I don't knock that, but I am saying too that you ought to try and aim your programs for quality education; in other words, you should make the money that goes to Pontiac or to Detroit go for a very complicated or high class science course which would appeal to people, like yourself, who have children or to my children and make it attractive for children of educated people and more affluent people, to have their children in that system.

I think you are failing in that. I think the States are failing in that.

Now, I also suggested some housing, and that is another alternative to busing. I understand they have done that some in Ann Arbor, Mich. In each part of Ann Arbor, they have had some Federal housing where they have moved in minority people to try and integrate the system, to get around busing. And that has been fairly successful, from what I hear.

I don't have anything official on that. But I think if you are going to really help Pontiac, it has to come fast.

Senator HART. And that means substantial Federal money pumped into the school district or districts that are under a court order and are attempting to comply with the requirements, hopefully earmarked at least to the degree that some of it is required to be used to establish some aspect of the curricula that has appeal to the whole community.

Mr. IRWIN. That is right.

Senator HART. And the introduction of Federal subsidized low- and moderate-income housing in communities heretofore largely white. Is that what you are saying?

Mr. IRWIN. This is what they did in Ann Arbor. I don't know that this would work for instance in Pontiac. The population now, because of the open housing ordinance, is mixed. But it did seem to work in Ann Arbor. I don't know if this would work in Pontiac.

I know they did this in Ann Arbor.

Senator HART. And your final caution is that the pattern must change rapidly, otherwise it will be too late to reverse the resegregation which you fear.

Mr. IRWIN. Yes. I don't know that 2 years makes a trend. But we lost 1,000 students one year and 2,700 the next year.

Senator HART. That is a trend.

Would you add also the suggestion of enlarging the school districts?

QUALITY EDUCATION—NOT BUSING—IS ISSUE

Mr. IRWIN. That is right. As I suggested, the State already financed busing for the townships and I am kind of in agreement. I sense that the committee believes that this busing is kind of a red herring or a sham, and I think this may be true.

I believe as Mr. Lacy does that it really isn't the busing, people are being bused, and they have been bused, it isn't really the busing. I think that right or wrong, people believe that they are not going to

have a quality education if they have a large percentage of black minority people in the districts.

Senator HART. I am sure that is true. And I can think of no more understandable concern. But there is the obligation that the Constitution establishes, which as lawyers you and I would agree, overrides. That is our problem.

Do you agree?

Mr. IRWIN. The obligation—you mean the 14th amendment, and de jure segregation? Certainly, I think we have to follow the Constitution, absolutely.

Senator HART. Thank you very much.

I should explain, I am not a member of this committee, I am here by the courtesy of Senator Mondale. But I can think—even with a Supreme Court nomination going—I can think of nothing more compelling for me at any rate to spend as much time as I can listening to this Michigan testimony.

Mr. IRWIN. I appreciate your being here, Senator, and I am sure the other people from Pontiac do, too.

Senator MONDALE. Congressman Conyers?

Mr. CONYERS. I should explain that I am neither a member of this committee nor a member of the Senate. Nevertheless, I am impressed with the sincerity of your testimony.

And I would ask you, don't you see this controversy against the backdrop of history? We are talking about the question of the relationship of the races as pertaining to our public education system. That is obviously combining two extremely scientific questions into one ball of wax and attempting to resolve both of them. And, of course, there are going to be the passions of the moment demonstrated.

Obviously there will be a certain amount of friction and clearly there will be confusion in the interpretation and enforcement of our national policy.

Unfortunately the poor in our society are usually called upon to make the classic sacrifice first. I suppose in this situation of resolving racial imbalance, as you suggest in your statement, that is going to be the case here as well.

But as I see it, we are moving toward a resolution of a problem that is perhaps inescapable from the backdrop of American history.

Don't you agree that we have almost run out of time, court decisions and rationalizations. We now have reached a point where in school district after school district across this nation, court litigation has had ultimately the same result.

So the question that we are really facing is how do we get reasonable people in positions of leadership in the school systems, in the community, in the government, to intelligently resolve this problem in the best manner that we can?

Does that not seem to be the spirit in which we come together today in this committee and you come from Pontiac?

LOCAL VS. NATIONAL CONCERNS

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Conyers, I recognize that as a Member of Congress you have a duty to the Nation and are looking at this not only representing your district, from which you were elected, but the Nation as a whole.

My responsibility is to the Pontiac Board of Education, the city of Pontiac, the Pontiac School District, it is a much narrower responsibility. But as a parent, I have a duty, it seems to me, and the obligation, almost, to see to it that when my children graduate, they are able to compete in this society as best I can have them compete.

Now, you can have all of the theories in the world, and we may be moving to a utopia, but my children are going to be graduating within the next 4 or 5 years and I can't wait for 10 years until the utopia comes; I must have them in a system which is good now.

And if Pontiac deteriorates, as a parent, I can't have that. This is the way I think parents feel. And although looking at it nationwide, I can see there is a different viewpoint.

Mr. CONYERS. Well, superior education is both of our concern, if you suggest that our viewpoints are different, need they be incompatible? That is to say, the problem and the hope that you express for your children, I am sure, resides in the hearts and minds of every black parent in the Pontiac area as well.

And they seek just as earnestly those same objectives. Since those are your objectives and those are the objectives of black parents, and those I presume hopefully are the national objectives of the Congress and this Government, can we not fashion them all together even more quickly? Having established a national statement on this subject of the races and the public schools, cannot we fuse all of these desires into one? I don't see where there necessarily has to be any contradiction.

I am not saying that things won't be better later on, but the fact still remains; that even before the *Brown* versus *Board of Education* case of 1954 that a youngster, regardless of his color, cannot receive a quality education in the true sense of the word if he is indeed sent to a separate school.

He grows up deficient. And it seems to me that perhaps with a fair analysis of the problems, and without trying to denigrate the feelings of parents who want their children to have the best education available, we can fuse these goals, and they need not be contradictory.

Mr. IRWIN. I don't think they are contradictory, Mr. Conyers, except that you said that *Brown* versus *Board of Education* held that a black child could not receive a quality education in a separate or segregated system. And this was the holding of the court.

Mr. CONYERS. They said a white child can't receive it. They said black and white children.

Mr. IRWIN. I agree.

RESEGREGATION WILL DEVELOP

But my point was in the city of Pontiac, if this trend continues, we are going to have a resegregated system and unless we get some help from somebody somewhere, outside of this system, outside of the Pontiac system, and I am not telling you that I have the answer, because I don't have all of the answers, I have made a couple of suggestions.

But it will become segregated.

Mr. CONYERS. I share that fear with you. We know that you need help. I think there is an immediate urgency across the Nation for districts that want to take the steps that are now required.

I think that everyone who discusses this subject in this committee today would unequivocably support increased Federal aid for the

specific purposes of assisting in desegregation efforts of the school districts.

I am working right now on the consideration of the attitudes involved, because you know that this is going to be just as important. Money alone isn't going to do the whole job. We have got to agree outside of this room in much more depth of commitment that the desires of black parents and white parents are really one and the same, that the national purpose is to not just to integrate the schools, but that ultimately this first step will lead toward an increased quality of education.

But to get there, it seems implicit that the only way in which we are going to do that is that we all begin to say that everybody is going to be the beneficiary or victim of the situation in the school system, and in this manner then, we all will begin to move along together.

Don't you see that the black parent who is just as equally motivated as you, is in a far inferior position and is supporting a system that is without reservation guaranteeing to his child a very unpleasant and inadequate kind of preparation for future life?

Mr. IRWIN. I agree with you that black or white parents want the very best for their children and they will take steps, whatever steps they are able to take, financially or otherwise, to see that they get it. I have suggested some things that we might do.

Mr. CONYERS. Of course, there are a number of other decisions that begin to suggest that we are going to have to broaden the concept of what is a school district, and we are going to have to consider intercity, intercounty busing, to prevent the kind of resegregation that you suggested.

I have heard already that the notion of a bigger school district geographically would probably help resolve that problem.

But I keep thinking of what Joe Louis said many years ago in the ring. This I think is beginning to have some meaning for us here in this room, "you can run, but you can't hide."

And actually the whole housing situation is really the Achilles' heel in this problem. If we could relocate houses, obviously we wouldn't have to worry about relocating children.

So in the bigger context, the flight to the suburbs is now getting to be less and less rewarding. We must also take into consideration some of the implications of your very last sentence, that we have got to reexamine some of the great subsidies that are going to private and parochial schools which may in effect be rewarding people for leaving the public school systems, whatever their motive.

I think you have given us a great deal of food for thought and I am personally grateful for your testimony here.

Mr. IRWIN. Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. I have just one question.

And we have two further witnesses this morning. Right now in Pontiac, do you believe that your children can attend the schools to which they are assigned and receive a quality education?

CAN RECEIVE QUALITY EDUCATION

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, I think I supplemented it at home. I have four children in Pontiac schools; two in Central High School; one in Jefferson and one in Whitfield. I think they are getting a quality education.

As Dr. Whitmer suggested, I think we ought to try our very best to reinstitute more vocal music in the elementary grades, get the bands going again in the elementary grades, because I think these things add to the quality of education, and we don't have money to.

I think so, I have my children there, and I think that speaks louder than words.

Senator MONDALE. I am often asked, what is the tipping point?

Mr. IRWIN. I don't know; I don't think I will know until it happens.

Senator MONDALE. I think we have found in this committee that it depends on the quality of the local leadership. If they are in there fighting and encouraging people—take Berkeley, which is unusual, but that is 50–50, and they had very little flight at all.

There have been several other communities with high percentages which have integrated, where it seems to be working rather well and some of them in the Deep South. But in any event, right now it is your opinion that the citizens of Pontiac can safely send their children to the public schools and receive a quality education?

Mr. IRWIN. I do send my children to the public schools. I think every parent is apprehensive. I am too. But——

Senator MONDALE. I know there is the anxiety. But right now——

Mr. IRWIN. Right, I am sending four children to the Pontiac public schools.

Senator MONDALE. And you can say to the citizens that they are going to receive a quality education in Pontiac, a competitive education?

Mr. IRWIN. I think they are.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for coming here. We appreciate your fine and candid statements.

Our next witness is Mrs. Robert Anderson, president of the PTA Council.

STATEMENT OF MRS. ROBERT C. ANDERSON, PRESIDENT, PTA COUNCIL, PONTIAC, MICH.

Mrs. ANDERSON. Honorable Senators and fellow Americans, it is my happy privilege to be here representing the office of the president of the PTA Council and thank you for inviting me.

Senator MONDALE. We are delighted to have you here.

Mrs. ANDERSON. The Honorable Damon Keith gave an assignment to Pontiac to integrate our six all-black schools by the opening day of school on September 7, 1971.

The PTA Council organized a "Let's Make It Work" campaign to cooperate with our very sincere and capable superintendent, Dr. Dana Whitmer, who made a plea to the public to support the school's implementation of the integration plan.

Our purpose was to present a positive attitude. Since the PTA represented people who strongly opposed busing, those who strongly favored busing and those who were indifferent, we bypassed the busing issue and made our campaign one of encouraging parents to obey the law and help to make the transition as smooth as we could for the welfare and safety of all children in the Pontiac School District when school opened.

10-Point Campaign To Support Integration Plan

Our campaign committee chose 10 steps to strengthen our campaign:

1. A definitive low-key campaign was decided to be the most effective way we could best accomplish our purpose. PTA people all over the city reasoned with neighbors and friends and explained our approach to them.

2. A letter explaining the PTA's "obey the law" position and asking for endorsement and promotion of our "Let's Make It Work" campaign was sent to all service clubs, community groups and clergy organizations in Pontiac.

3. Pencils with smiling faces and "Let's Make It Work" printed on them were distributed by PTA members.

4. A resolution was sent to the City Commission asking their approval of the Mayor's proclaiming the opening week of school as "Let's Make It Work" week in Pontiac.

5. The painting of a traditional sign used in Pontiac by various groups was paid for by our campaign funds and hung across the business section of Pontiac during the opening week of school with "Let's Make It Work" in red letters.

6. Sixty-second spot announcements by Pontiac citizens asking parents and students to join our "Let's Make It Work" campaign were played over WPON, our local radio station, for 2 weeks prior to the opening of school.

7. PTA members served on the Pontiac Urban Coalition Speaker's Bureau stressing the positive approach to the integration plan.

8. PTA Council sponsored six meetings held the last week in August in the six junior high schools informing the parents about all details of the integration plan. Two teams of school administrators comprised of the superintendent or assistant superintendent, directors of personnel, transportation and Federal funding and the business manager gave a presentation, followed by a question and answer period.

9. A black and white PTA member, one from the host school and one from the incoming school, were asked to be hosts and hostesses the opening day of school to greet parents in elementary and junior high schools. The two senior schools were not involved in the busing.

10. Hundreds of PTA members volunteered to ride buses, to monitor halls, playgrounds, lunchrooms and bus stops. Some were paid. Many were not.

I am so very proud of these wonderful PTA people and the citizens of Pontiac who planned, talked, encouraged, reasoned, prayed and worked diligently to make the opening day of school a safe one for all children who rode school buses across Pontiac from one section to the other, and safe it was.

That opening day of school was a scene of contrast in human emotions. Most all schools, particularly in the black community, enjoyed a happy, kind attitude exchanged between students, parents and administrators.

HATRED RAN RAMPANT

Hatred ran rampant in the northern section of Pontiac at several schools as bus loads of 1st, 2nd and 3rd grade black students arrived to be met by white pickets. This same attitude was demonstrated as older black elementary and junior high students arrived at their schools. It was very evident that those pickets were not antibusing but antiblack. Then there were also incidents of antibusing pickets hurling unkind, uncouth remarks at their neighborhood children as they got on the buses to go to their new schools.

Many PTA members went to the troubled schools to assist in any way they were needed. We had some unfortunate incidents. With a crowd of angry, taunting parents outside the schools making certain with their signs and remarks that the black children understood they were not welcome at their newly assigned schools, naturally some of these black children reacted.

Senator MONDALE. Are you saying the picketers contributed to the very violence of which they complained?

Mrs. ANDERSON. Definitely.

Some of our PTA people continued faithfully to monitor halls and talk with troubled students for even a month after school began.

Our "Let's Make It Work" campaign was greatly assisted by the Concerned Clergy and Social Workers in Pontiac. Forty-five ministers encouraged Pontiac citizens for the two Sundays prior to the opening of school to remain calm and obey the law. These same men rode the buses, stood in crowds of pickets and monitored halls. Their presence calmed somewhat an explosive situation. How we appreciated their dedication and time.

The social workers followed the same procedure as the clergy that opening day of school with great effectiveness. We have taken further advantage of these fine people to assist us with a new PTA Council program to promote good community relations. This has already begun in one cluster of schools.

The Council has planned to initiate this sharing of concerns and interests of parents in all elementary and junior high schools. The social workers add a professional touch to the discussion. To them we are grateful.

This chance for black and white parents to get acquainted and communicate is an exciting, positive, pleasurable advantage to the integration plan. I have seen and heard of so many wonderful heart-warming human interest situations since school began. It is a good healthy sign of changing attitudes for a unified Pontiac.

PTA people are so very grateful to all school district personnel for the countless hours they have willingly spent to work out the multitudinous tasks of exceptional organization to prepare schools, pupils and personnel for the opening day of school. We are also grateful to all employees who work faithfully all year for the benefit of all children in the school district.

Our Council has had the joy of presenting certificates of recognition for the dedication, protection and interest given to all children to administrators and principals in September and to school bus drivers in October. Secretaries will receive theirs in November, with custodians, engineers, cafeteria workers, school crossing guards, clerks and consultants to follow each month throughout the school year.

The court's decision to integrate our schools gave to us parents a challenge, a job and an opportunity.

First, our challenge was to take this new situation and racially balance all schools for quality education. We have no precedent, no outline to follow. What we do will be Pontiac's answer and solution to a difficult but not impossible assignment. We can take this challenge and through much planning, testing, studying and trying we can reach the goal of integrated schools and a better community.

This school integration involvement is like a puzzle with a thousand pieces. All these pieces can fit together if we have the time, patience, interest and determination to solve this puzzle.

Parents Have Critical Job

We parents have a critical job to do. Each parent must honestly ask himself, "What kind of parent am I?" "What kind of child character-building am I doing with my teaching and actions?"

Since each day we are molding our children, our attitudes and the opinions we express make a permanent impression on our children's minds and a lasting influence on their thinking and lives.

We must obey the law. How can we demand our children to be good American citizens if we do not set the prime example ourselves?

We must have an impartial attitude toward all races and accept them as our equals. This is the only way we can teach our children to treat each person kindly and fairly, regardless of his skin color.

This is a great opportunity for us to help improve the status of mankind. We have a chance right now to dissolve some of the racial tensions by teaching our children to accept their Spanish-speaking neighbor, their white neighbor, their black neighbor. We should diligently teach our children to try to understand them.

The next generation is destined to have more tolerance if our children are taught to respect each race. This can be our lasting contribution to the history of our great Nation—to build solid stepping stones of racial equality for our children to use to reach greater heights in this progress for generations to follow.

The true spirit of Pontiac was seen by the thousands of parents who accepted the challenge of making integration work by working hard at their job of being better parents so that all of Pontiac can benefit from this opportunity.

I am thrilled with the positive results of our "Let's Make It Work" campaign which became a beneficial reality.

Integration is working in Pontiac, particularly well in the elementary schools. This is where the success of better racial relations must begin in the early grades so children are conditioned to working and playing together and accepting each other for the person he is. This will eliminate tensions and confrontations at junior high and senior high when constructive foundations of racial acceptability have been built during the elementary years.

It was most timely that the Pontiac Press printed for me so you gentlemen could see, a full page article on one of our exceptionally fine junior highs in Pontiac.* This is what you were referring to, Senator.

"Students are sure we can make integration work." This talks of one of our fine junior high principals who had this philosophy, and one of

*See Part 19C, Appendix 5.

our "Let's Make It Work" programs, my sister and brother-in-law attended at the junior high this summer, and the principal said, "You just give me 2 weeks with your students and Jefferson will be the best junior high in the city."

On the opening day of school I attended the elementary school adjacent to the junior high. Dr. Nails came over and we were chatting and I was saying how my sister was impressed with his comments about it being the best junior high. This was 9:15. After school opened at 8:30. He came over and said everything is beautiful over here. You go back and tell your sister just give me 1 week and it will be the best junior high in the city.

My nephew called on Friday and I said how are things. Fine, Aunt Fran, no problems in Jefferson Junior High. Jefferson is the best junior high in this city.

This is the kind of attitude students will use to help make this all work.

It is touching to see our 6th-grade son appreciating his new black and Mexican classmates and to listen to his fun experiences with them.

It is touching to watch this kind, personable, black principal show special attention and interest in a white child who is vying for his attention. He shows no partiality and the children love him.

It is touching to watch a black mother hug our son because he played a good football game with her son to win the game.

It is touching to watch dedicated black and white teachers creating a pleasant atmosphere for learning academics and lessons in living.

The inconvenience busing creates for the parents and the extra time students spend on the bus seem a very small price to pay to see, hopefully, our children mature into the type of American citizens that the drafters of our Constitution and the present interpreters of the Constitution must have envisioned when they included and interpreted the provisions for equality.

Thank you very much.

Senator MONDALE. I think you answered my basic question. Your slogan is "Let's Make it Work." You say it is working. What do you say in response to those who say it isn't, whether it is the violence, the bus rides, whatever it is, how do you respond to that?

Mrs. ANDERSON. First of all, I feel that having been a teacher I know what goes on inside of the school and there are many times when students create situations. As far as violence goes, there have been things which have been of a violent nature in school, but I don't see any violence as far as every school having to have police in the school, that is not necessary.

NOT VIOLENCE—DIFFICULTIES

We also have police counselors in the high schools and they handle the situation very well there. I don't accept that argument that we have so much violence in our schools, we don't have violence in our schools, we have difficulties, but certainly not violence.

Senator MONDALE. It was suggested, and this has happened in many jurisdictions, that there will be white flight and in a few years you will have an all-black school system again.

Is that likely or not?

Mrs. ANDERSON. There have been white people who have moved, there is no doubt about that. And the statistics indicate that. But I feel

in Pontiac, and I am very proud of our city, I feel there are people who are willing to stay in Pontiac, to help the situation as far as what we are doing right now. And I feel very frankly, we have two daughters who are in high school, one in each high school since the boundary line was changed, and a son in the 6th grade and then we have a 4-year old. Our children have received an excellent education. I have upheld the Pontiac school district 100 percent because I have watched over the past, well, since 1948, our school district. We have an exceptionally fine school district and our children are receiving a very good education.

Senator MONDALE. You don't believe that has changed since the court order?

Mrs. ANDERSON. I know we haven't the money for such things as physical education, librarians, band, this kind of thing. But right now, if we don't have the money to do that, I do not see that the quality of education has been lessened because of these few extras that we have had.

As far as the teachers in our system, giving children quality education, we have that kind of quality education. But of course when you take money away from programs, it lessens the program. But I am a very staunch supporter of our school district and our school system. We have a good school system in Pontiac.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

Senator Hart?

Senator HART. Thank you very much. No questions.

Senator MONDALE. Congressman Conyers?

Mr. CONYERS. I think it is important that we understand the attitudes that the citizens bring to this subject. I was imagining how little difficulty we would have throughout the country if we had more people that professed your attitude. That leads me to this question: Have you always been of this persuasion? Is this a view that was developed or was it the experience of integrating the schools that gave you the point of view and outlook that you have expressed so well here today?

Mrs. ANDERSON. No, I haven't acquired this just over the summer, no. You know, I worked with black people and white people, through PTA. This is a wonderful thing about PTA, you don't see color, you see parents who are interested in one thing, their children, all over the city of Pontiac, not just in their little schools. But this is the thing that to me has been most rewarding, is learning to know black people through PTA work for many, many years, and without this kind of experience, I think it is difficult for white people to accept many of the things, if they don't have a good appreciation of a real good black friend and many good working people.

And since I have had the wonderful opportunity to work with many black people, I see no problem at all, and I am sorry that many white parents see such a terrific problem in taking their children to help the situation a little bit. If black parents say their children are not receiving a quality education, maybe they are talking about the fact that they want white and black ideas, attitudes, interchanged, maybe that is what they are talking about. If we never have a chance for interchange, maybe it is a better education to learn to know groups of people than it is sometimes to learn everything out of a page of a book.

Mr. CONYERS. That leads to one final question.

Have you witnessed any parents, who did not initially share the attitudes that you have, who have benefitted by this experience? Has this been humanizing for those who have come through this integration experience?

Many Attitudes Have Changed

Mrs. Anderson. There are many people who had decidedly gone the opposite side. Many PTA people were all done, almost, with PTA, had decided they wanted no part of this. But we bypassed busing, because this is the hot issue. But when they realized the fact that their children were not going to be hurt at all by whatever little inconvenience this was, they changed their attitudes. Now we have some very effective people who, before, were not at all interested in "Let's Make It Work," but right now they are the best people we have, because some of them can't even reason with their own brothers and sisters, who are keeping their children out of school, that this is the thing they should be doing. But at least they are helping to build an attitude and an idea and they have done something beautifully within themselves to change an attitude and idea. If they can do that, that means their children may have a different attitude and there we go, that is the thing that is the basis of it all.

Mr. Conyers. I think that is an extremely important consideration. The fact that even under the difficult and trying circumstances under which many of these situations have had to occur, that there is substantive evidence that there are conversions, that there are reappraisals of long-he'd attitudes. Because it seems to me that unless there is evidence of that forthcoming, we are in trouble. That part of your testimony is extremely encouraging to me.

I thank you very much.

Senator Mondale. Thank you very much for a most useful statement and for the fine work I understand that you are doing in Pontiac.

Our final witness this morning is Mr. Elbert Hatchett, president of the Pontiac chapter of the NAACP.

STATEMENT OF ELBERT HATCHETT, PRESIDENT, PONTIAC CHAPTER, NAACP

Mr. Hatchett. Good afternoon, gentlemen.

My prepared statement is very short, and hopefully to the point.

The following is a statement of my position regarding the subject matter of the Senate hearing.

The Pontiac School Board has intentionally utilized the power at its disposal to locate new schools and arrange boundaries in such a manner as to create and perpetuate segregation in the city of Pontiac. The board has used the neighborhood school concept as a disguise for the preservation and furtherance of segregated schools in the district.

Teachers and principals have been admittedly assigned in the Pontiac School District on the basis of race. The racial imbalance as to faculty and administrative personnel in the Pontiac School District was glaring. Despite repeated policy pronouncements and resolutions passed by the board, spanning a period of over 20 years, segregation continued to be the rule in the Pontiac schools until the recent implementation of the court-ordered desegregation plan.

Since that time, the Pontiac School Board has made every effort to smoothly and effectively implement the court-ordered plan for integration of the public schools. The board has been steadfast in its insistance upon absolute compliance with the court-ordered plan, despite widespread protest and demonstrations by a large segment of the white community. Violence has erupted in some cases, however, the court, the school board and counsel for both sides have refused to yield.

Now that all appellate remedies have been exhausted by the Pontiac School District, it appears as though those opposed to the integration plan will be turning their efforts toward securing a constitutional amendment prohibiting busing under these circumstances.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for a very short and to the point statement.

Do you have children in the school system?

Mr. HATCHETT. Yes, I do.

Senator MONDALE. What years?

Mr. HATCHETT. I have one child in high school and one child in the 5th grade.

Senator MONDALE. Where do they go to school, which schools?

Mr. HATCHETT. My son goes to—he was assigned to the Crofoot Elementary School, but that school had been destroyed and they are building a new elementary school for Crofoot, so he is being bused to Wisner School. He was assigned after the initial construction of the school to St. Fred's School, which necessitated his being bused last year.

Senator MONDALE. And your daughter goes where?

Mr. HATCHETT. Pontiac Central High School, which is right up the street from my home.

Senator MONDALE. Does your son who uses the bus object to it, complain about it?

Mr. HATCHETT. No, he doesn't.

Senator MONDALE. How long does he ride the bus?

Mr. HATCHETT. About 10 minutes.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you.

Congressman Conyers?

Mr. CONYERS. It is my impression from your statement that you feel a great deal more could be done to facilitate the integration of the Pontiac school system than is being done?

Mr. HATCHETT. Well, yes, Congressman. I feel that perhaps more could be done, although I am not willing to charge at this time that the school board is not doing all it can do. I think much of the problem relates to something that is perhaps not before this committee, but the manner in which law enforcement agencies in the area have addressed themselves to the problem.

Mr. CONYERS. Do you agree with Mrs. Anderson, the previous witness, about the positive outlook on what is happening there?

Mr. HATCHETT. I am cautiously optimistic. I perhaps cannot say the things that she said with the enthusiasm that she said them. I do think there is hope and there is a chance, although there is also evidence of the fact that perhaps the Pontiac system will not survive

as a system that we had hoped would come about through the implementation of the school order.

Mr. CONYERS. You mean that resegregation might occur?

Mr. HATCHETT. That is a strong possibility.

Mr. CONYERS. Could you give us some expression of the point of view of the black parents? We are so frequently saddled with Gallup polls that suggest that 47 percent of the black parents don't like busing either, for example, and such statements as these. It is my feeling that nobody likes busing, that if any of us had a chance to decide whether we would send our children to a school that was within a few minutes walking distance or bus them we would all obviously make the same decision.

Could you give us some inputs for the record as to what the attitude of black parents are on this whole sensitive subject?

BLACK PARENTS' ATTITUDE

Mr. HATCHETT. Well, black people in the city of Pontiac are somewhat proud of the victory we were able to achieve in the court. Now they are certainly aware of the fact that the implementation of the busing order entailed an inconvenience to them and their children. But this is an inconvenience that they are proud of and more than happy to bear, because they feel that the paramount consideration is equality of educational opportunity for their children. So they don't mind at all putting their children on the buses in order to—so at least they have a better chance of receiving quality education that most of the white children had been receiving prior to the implementation of the plan.

I don't think there is any significant body of black people in the city of Pontiac that have taken a contrary position.

Mr. CONYERS. On the subject of violence, are not the black parents equally concerned about minimizing the violence as much as possible, especially in view of the fact that their children might under the circumstances described be the subjects or victims of such violence?

Mr. HATCHETT. Yes, they are very, very much concerned about the violence that has been visited upon their children, not only physical violence, but violence that would take on the appearance of having derogatory names hurled at them by adult white people. They are very much indignified by this experience they must expose their children to. They are sensitive in terms of physical violence also.

But I think one thing that we can be truly proud of in the city of Pontiac is that most of the violence that has been at the hands of adult people, has been at the hands of white adult people. The black people have taken every measure to assure the white children that are being bused into the black school every safety that they can possibly afford. They have not demonstrated, they have not picketed, they have not protested, they have not committed acts that would be designed and calculated to incense the children as they go into the school. This has been done largely by a small group of white people who seem to have been totally hell-bent on defeating the order.

I think this has precipitated the violence that everyone is fearful of.

Mr. CONYERS. Finally, do you have any suggestions on how we can avoid the situation of resegregation in addition to enlarging the school district?

Mr. HATCHETT. No, sir, but I reflected with great interest upon the observation that you made in putting a question to Attorney Irwin, that perhaps the only means by which we can solve that problem is to see to it that there is no place to which white residents can flee. If districts are amalgamated for the purpose of implementation of court orders, this would obviate the necessity of people having to leave a district, in order to get away from an order, because every district would be under a similar order.

I understand Judge Roth is presently contemplating this in the Detroit case.

A TEST OF COURAGE

Secondly, I think the test is one of courage on the part of white people in America. The test is whether or not they are willing to endure the inconvenience of busing and at least take a chance on an eventual or a possible dimunition in the services and quality of instruction that may be imparted in the integrated schools for a while, but in hopes we will eventually be able to find sufficient funding to provide the kinds of educational services for children that are essential and superior to the schools that do not have integrated faculties and student bodies.

I do think bonuses should be given to schools under court order and districts that forthrightly attempt to comply with court orders, such as has been the case in Pontiac. I think we can certainly attract white residents to the city of Pontiac if we can show them, because of the funding that has been secured from the Federal Government or from the State government, that we have a better opportunity of offering them a better quality education in the city.

Mr. CONYERS. A last question. What, if any, percentage of black parents have you found support the organizational activities of NAG?

Mr. HATCHETT. I have not found one. Now there have been rumors that NAG had among its members a substantial number of black people. I have not been able to find one to talk with, I have not been able to photograph one during the course of any of their rallies or demonstrations. And whoever those black people are, they have certainly remained totally out of sight with respect to the black community. I am not saying that there are no such members, perhaps they contribute but don't take an active role. But no one in the black community of Pontiac has been seen among the rank and file of people who say they are members of the NAG organization.

Mr. CONYERS. Thank you very much, counsel.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you, Congressman.

Your firm handled the lawsuit; is that correct?

Mr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. Did the Justice Department help in any way—participate?

Mr. HATCHETT. At the time that we instituted the cause, there were two members of the Justice Department whose names escape me for the moment, that came to Pontiac and visited with us with respect to possibly intervening. They left somewhat abruptly and I received a telephone call from one of them shortly after their departure and he advised that it was their opinion that the suit perhaps did not have the kind of merit that they liked to involve themselves in.

So based upon that consideration, they did not intervene.

Senator MONDALE. When did this meeting take place, approximately?

Mr. HATCHETT. I think it was probably 2 or 3 months after we filed suit in 1968.

Senator MONDALE. 1968.

Did the Justice Department assist you or consult with you at any time after that?

Mr. HATCHETT. No, sir.

Senator MONDALE. Was your case really so hard to prove as the Government often claims northern cases to be?

Mr. HATCHETT. Well, I think that due to the candor of the witnesses who testified for the defendant we were able to achieve and prove something, you know, that most counsels are not able to achieve, and that is to get the proof right out in the open right away and argue whether or not it was intentional or whether or not it was caused by circumstances beyond the board's control.

The board came to the court and forthrightly admitted to the court that the school system was segregated. The only thing we were left with was to argue the cause. They were very forthright in answers to questions with respect to causation.

So it was not quite as difficult as many of the northern cases.

Senator MONDALE. How many days of testimony did you have?

Mr. HATCHETT. Six days.

Senator MONDALE. Only 6 days.

If they had not admitted these facts and been as candid as they were, how long could it have taken?

Mr. HATCHETT. Perhaps 3 weeks.

Senator MONDALE. Very well. We will stand in recess until 2 p.m. and I will ask the witnesses scheduled for this afternoon to be here at that time.

Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, at 12:25 p.m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m., this same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—2 P.M.

Senator MONDALE. The committee will come to order.

Our first witness this afternoon is Mrs. Irene McCabe, chairman of the National Action Group.

STATEMENT OF MRS. IRENE McCABE, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL ACTION GROUP, PONTIAC, MICH.

Mrs. MCCABE. Senator Mondale, members of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, ladies and gentlemen, I am Mrs. Irene McCabe of Pontiac, Michigan.

And I am chairman of the National Action Group.

We are an organization of parents and concerned citizens who have formed together to oppose the forced busing of school children away from neighborhood schools.

We are not educational experts or statisticians, or Ph.D.'s. In fact, I am a high school graduate, mother and housewife—nothing more, but nothing less.

I personally appreciate the opportunity to appear before you to discuss the serious implication of the recent court decisions on busing as they bear on educational opportunities in Pontiac, and ultimately on the lives of millions of parents and their children throughout the Nation.

As you know, Judge Damon Keith of the Federal District Court of the Eastern District of Michigan, has ruled that school children in Pontiac must be bused out of their neighborhoods to distant schools in order to achieve an artificial racial balance.

That decision was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court refused to review the lower court decision last week and so the lower court decision will stand. It is being implemented now.

Let me first speak of Pontiac.

We are a community of about 85,000 people.

Of our people, 76.5 percent are white; 23.5 percent of our people are black. There are 29 elementary public schools in Pontiac, and 8 secondary public schools.

It has been alleged that the boundaries of the various schools were drawn to concentrate blacks with blacks and whites with whites.

PONTIAC TOTALLY INTEGRATED

But I deny that. I believe that Pontiac is a totally integrated city with some concentrations of blacks and whites in certain areas due to the social and economic realities of a society. But Pontiac is also a city with a progressive open housing ordinance.

As a result of Judge Keith's ruling, busing was begun in September of this year to give the schools a racial balance equal to the population of the city.

The assumption has been that this rearrangement will give all students an equal educational opportunity.

It is our opinion that this is not so.

We are aware that beginning with the historic decision in *Brown* versus *Board of Education* in 1954, the Supreme Court has consistently ruled that children must be given an equal educational opportunity.

The National Action Group supports that view enthusiastically. We believe that every child, black or white, rich or poor, northern or southern, should have that right.

Now, gentlemen, I would like to refer to you to a sheet of statistics put out by the School District of the city of Pontiac, that says that in 1969–70 school year, there was one all-white school in the city of Pontiac, and no all-black schools in the city of Pontiac.

In the school year 1970–71, there were no all-white schools in the School District of Pontiac, and no all-black schools.

Consequently, it has been and was before the busing, a totally integrated school system.

In addition to that, despite the fact that the black population is less than 30 percent in the city, in administrative positions there were 42 white and 20 black. That is half.

In teacher positions, there were more than half of the teacher positions that were filled by black teachers.

So, we have a totally integrated system.

Senator MONDALE. Would you yield?

Is it your position then that the court was wrong?

Mrs. MCCABE. I am offering these figures that were issued by the School District of Pontiac.

Senator MONDALE. Is it your position that the court was in error, that there was not discrimination?

Mrs. MCCABE. It is my position that it was not de jure or deliberate segregation.

Senator MONDALE. Does the fact that the Circuit Court agreed with the position of the trial judge, shake your viewpoint at all?

Mrs. MCCABE. No.

Senator MONDALE. Is it your position that where there is discrimination, that busing is all right?

Mrs. MCCABE. There is no discrimination.

Senator MONDALE. I mean, if you had a school district where there was discrimination and you agreed that there was, would you then agree that busing was a proper tool?

Mrs. MCCABE. No, sir; I would say we must expend every effort to see that equal educational opportunity was offered. In my opinion, what constitutes equal educational opportunities may differ from yours.

I believe reference was made to this article one time today—a black principal, in a predominantly black school, it was predominantly black until the busing order, raised the achievement level of his youngsters in his school, not with busing, but through motivation and he raised it 50 percent through motivation.

Study Proves Facilities Available

We have performed our own studies. We went to several schools a year and a half ago, before the busing program, and took an accurate count of what facilities were available in all schools. And we found that there were equal facilities available.

There are no predominantly black schools that did not have as much, if not more, materials, quality materials and facilities available, material facilities.

But we do not believe that equal educational opportunity results by forcing children to be bused great distances from their homes, and dropped into sociological mixing bowls in order to try and prove some social planner's view that the only road to equal educational opportunity is through a color scale which precisely mixes black, white, red, yellow, and brown.

That is unmitigated foolishness. And I sincerely believe that we all know it. Even the youngsters know it.

Here is another clipping from a local paper. I see what the students feel about busing. Busing is wrong. It effectively destroys the neighborhood school concept. It prohibits the day-to-day involvement of parents in the local school. It denies the parents the right to effect and control the formal education and development of their children by removing the child from his community. And it ends children's involvement in school activities which require after school hours like sports and civic projects.

Do you know what happened in Pontiac?

Opposition to the forced busing was almost universal, black and white alike. I can substantiate that fact.

I have with me an envelope that had in it donations toward our movements. On the envelope it says, "Donations to NAG, from the employees of sheet metal plants," et cetera.

This donation covers not only white employees, but colored as well as supervisory.

I hope this answers a previous question, because we do have both races involved in our movements.

In addition, we have two suits pending, one in the Circuit Court, and one in Federal Court. These are integrated lawsuits, there are four white families and three black families in each one. The black mothers do not want their children removed from their influence any more than I do.

I have brought copies of these suits with me.

The extremists seeking to exploit the situation blew up ten buses. Thank God no one was hurt.

The incidents of violence between students increased 854 percent in the period from September 7 to September 29 over the same period in 1970.

I have with me here a record from the Chief of Police in the city of Pontiac, which substantiates these.* Now these are incidents that have been reported. There are perhaps 2,000- or 3,000-percent increase, because several are not reported for fear of recriminations and further intimidations.

*See Part 19C, Appendix 5.

We also have a list of people who will not report to the Police Department for fear of further reprisals, but do report to the National Action Group. It is a very impressive, but frightening list.

Robberies shot up from 1 to 24, assaults went up from 13 to 84. Aggravated assaults where the injured were treated went up from 5 to 31. Disorderly person arrests went up from 1 to 41.

Mr. William E. Neff, principal of Whitfield Elementary School in Pontiac, was so disturbed about it that he sent this letter home to the parents on October 15, 1971:

Dear Parents:

I would like to call your attention to a very serious problem which exists and which has continued throughout the first 6 weeks of school. A great number of fights and incidents of intimidation have occurred among students. These incidents occur in some instances with only white involved, on other occasions between blacks and between black and white students as well. The fighting includes all areas of our student body. In many cases children are reluctant to report incidents to teacher or principal because of threats of reprisals if they do.

We have published this letter in the local paper, because unfortunately there have not been enough administrators who have had the courage to let the situation be known to the parents of the youngsters in their school.

Busing National Problem

Also, there seems to be a universal problem wherever busing occurs. I have received thousands and thousands of letters from throughout the country from parents who have had busing from their school districts over the past years. Here is one, for example, from a lady in Colorado. I could have brought with me 2,000 letters, but I thought two would be sufficient, so you could see that it is a national problem with the forced busing.

I will read one paragraph:

My son was beaten up in class in the halls by a gang of 20 black boys every day for some 20 days. He has a bone disease and can hardly walk, so he could not run. He was pushed down stairs while in a cast, two times. The nurse had to have him taken home.

This went on in the classroom because our teachers are afraid of junior high students. We finally had to ask for police protection and put it to the schools that they would be brought to court if he was touched again.

We have on several occasions, our organization, asked for more police protection or Federal marshals to protect the health and welfare of the youngsters.

This letter I am also going to read is from Georgia.

I have read about the trouble you are having in Pontiac. I have written Senator Robert Griffin. I told him my own personal story of what happened in my family because of busing. As one parent to another, I want to tell you just one of the thousands of incidents that have happened in Savannah, Georgia, because of the busing, to achieve racial balance in school.

I can't begin to tell you all of the horrible, nightmarish things that have happened, I don't know all of them myself. I have been too concerned with my own situation because of busing.

First, we live about 8 miles from Georgia in a small suburban community. Our local schools are good schools. We have worked hard to make them good.

On September 1, 1971, we were told of a plan to bus our elementary children. They were going to bus our youngest son, a 10-year old, 5th grader, to a school in Savannah. The school was located in a poor neighborhood, where I could not drive through the city at the daylight hours without all of my car doors locked.

I would not send my child into that crime-infested neighborhood if they took my life. I believe if the child missed the bus, he would never be found. What kind of mother do they think I am? We put him in private school.

It is not right. There are two elementary schools within walking distance of our home, and we paid for these with our taxes. They are busing inter-city children to these schools.

We send our 13-year-old son to the local junior high. We knew they were busing inner-city students, some 18- and 19-year-olds in the 8th and 9th grade.

We really did not know how bad these students were. We had to find out the hard way. No student can go from room to room without fear of attack. There are armed guards. It is more like prison than school. The teachers cannot teach, they are so busy trying to keep the kids from killing other students.

I say right here, these students need help, but not at the risk of sacrificing our normal students.

On September 16, 1971, at about 1:45, the school nurse called me. I was told that my 13-year-old son had been hurt. He was a victim of circumstances, she told me. I rushed to the school and found that my son and a friend had been attacked. They were beaten with a board. This beating was without provocation and was viciously perpetrated.

My son and his 13-year-old friend had finished lunch, gone to wing 2 to their lockers, got their books and were walking to wing 4 for their next class. There were no guards there at this time, and approximately 20 students stormed the wing doors and attacked them. One of the boys had a large board. He beat them while the others looked on.

This is the way their twisted minds work. They have gone in gangs and find one or two alone and attack. Education is far from their minds. My son and his friend did not say one word to them. Indeed, they had never seen them before in their lives. My son could not even identify them.

When I got to the school, I knew my son was seriously injured. One of the boys had hit him over the right kidney. We rushed him to the doctor. He confirmed my fears, the urine specimen was filled with blood. He was bleeding internally, they called a specialist [this goes on and on] my son, a 9th grade honor student has received trophies and honor certificates throughout the school year. He has never been sent to the office for a reprimand. This was the first time I had ever been called to the school for any kind of trouble.

All of the school officials know this, and they know he was in no way responsible. When this junior high was integrated, our daughter was a student there. I was a spiritual and character director of the PTA.

I remember the night of the first meeting. I gave the inspirational that night. I spoke on Christ and love. I did not think it was right to bus children from their neighborhood, nor do I think it is right now. This is now causing hate to exist where hate never existed before.

I feel that it has set integration back 10 years. You cannot take from some to give to others that don't want to help themselves. You cannot legislate nor force love and respect. It must be earned.

Why can't our responsible Negro leaders speak up. Only the good, honest, law abiding Negro will suffer. This is not right.

Mothers, fathers, please stand together.

I just wanted to show you that this is a universal feeling, a feeling throughout the country.

Bus Drivers Unsafe

Also, as a result of the ill-conceived and hastily imposed busing program, the school board hired drivers who were both untrained and unsafe. I have driving records and police records here to show you, chat are absolutely unbelievable. They are so lengthy, I hope later on you will take time to look at them. Lengthy records, drunk driving, wanted on a warrant—look at the lengthy record.

This driver was in jail and he got out in August of 1971, just in time to apply as a bus driver. You see the lengthy record here, many driving suspensions, not just one. Several.

Here is a criminal record. Two drunk driving convictions and a long criminal record. Three accidents, three mental hospital commitments. He was fired as a bus driver from another school district.

Recent reckless driving conviction, several accidents. Four accidents, two driving suspensions, two felonies.

Two accidents, three suspended licenses.

Three times a license suspended. And these are driving our youngsters to school.

Convicted on assault with an intent to commit murder, wanted right now on a warrant. Six prior driving suspensions. This is the caliber of bus drivers.

The buses themselves are unsafe. I heard today it was 50 but we were giving a figure of 30 buses a year, that they unsuccessfully maintain. Perhaps you are familiar with the figure where the rear axle fell off and the bus lost all four back wheels. On the way to the maintenance depot, it also lost a front wheel.

Here is the picture of the bus that 2 weeks ago stopped on a highway and its rear axle and all four wheels slipped off just moments after unloading its precious and uninsured cargo.

Here is a short, impartial list of bus incidents that our people have seen and made note of.

In Pontiac, Michigan, where there was not structured hostility last year, now there is.

Where there was not community polarization, now there is.

Where there was both student and parent participation, now there is none.

The PTA now is almost defunct. Where there was an effective educational environment, now there is none.

Busing is not the answer to better educational opportunity. It only creates conflict and ruins the traditional role of the school.

Most of all, it removes the influence of the family, the parents and the community upon their children.

Few will argue that the transient nature of our society today has already greatly reduced the influence of parents on children.

Crime is at an all-time high. More children are on narcotics than ever before. Pornography and sexual permissiveness is tearing down our moral fiber.

Suicides are at an all-time high.

And correspondingly, religious influence and participation is at an all-time low.

Surely we see each day the growing madness of our society.

And we are now to remove that single most important restraint—the influence of the mother and father on the child through the local school?

We believed that forced busing must be stopped.

Toward that end we are announcing today a massive campaign to ask men and women throughout the country to encourage their Congressmen and their Senators to support Congressmen Norman Lent's House Joint Resolution 620 to amend the United States Constitution. And it reads as follows:

No public school student shall, because of his race, creed or color, be assigned to or required to attend a particular school.

We urge your cooperation with this amendment. Hopefully, our letters, our telegrams, and our calls will convince a majority of you who represent us, that busing is wrong, and must be prohibited.

To back that statement up, Mr. George Gallup, his most recent poll, November 1, says that the majority of Negro people oppose busing. And 79 percent of the white people oppose busing.

We can't all be wrong. That is a strong mandate. It was distinctly stated in the Congressional Record of March 24, 1970, by the President of the United States:

> I am dedicated to continued progress toward a truly desegregated public school system. But, considering the always heavy demands for more school operating funds, I believe it is preferable, when we have to make the choice, to use limited financial resources for the improvement of education—for better methods, and advanced educational materials—and for the upgrading of the disadvantaged areas in the community rather than buying buses, tires and gasoline to transport young children miles away from their neighborhood schools.

And we, of the National Action Group agree.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Mrs. McCabe.

Are you against all school busing?

Mrs. MCCABE. No, I am not against all school busing, I am against forced busing.

Busing has been—students have been bused for several years, those that live outside of the school district, or far from the neighborhood school. I believe the limit is 1½ miles. But they are bused to the closest school.

And when parents purchase homes, people buying homes in the outlying areas, they know full well when they are making that purchase, that these youngsters will be bused to the nearest school.

Senator MONDALE. As I understood it last year, something like 45 percent of the school children in this country went to school by bus.

Do you oppose that?

Mrs. MCCABE. Those who choose to be bused, I think should have this opportunity.

Senator MONDALE. Is it your position that all of those people who were being bused, were being bused through freedom of choice, or were they in feeder patterns that told them to go to a certain school?

Mrs. MCCABE. I really would not have that information.

I say I am not opposed to students being bused, if this is their choice.

Senator MONDALE. Isn't it true that most of the children today are assigned to schools by the school board, and if it is beyond the reach of normal walking, they are transported there by bus? But the assignment is made by the school board?

Mrs. MCCABE. Up until the busing order, these youngsters went to the nearest neighborhood school.

Senator MONDALE. It is your understanding that all of the busing in this country has been based on freedom of choice?

Mrs. MCCABE. I would not have access to that. All of the busing in this country—I really don't know. I am only familiar with Pontiac.

Senator MONDALE. Do you agree with that part of President Nixon's statement that we should work toward a truly desegregated public school system?

Mrs. McCabe. Working toward a desegregated public school system, absolutely.

We have open housing, and I think this is what is needed, if there are areas that do not have open housing. We have it.

Senator Mondale. Well, there is a National Fair Housing Law.

In other words, you favor and support a system of desegrated schools?

Mrs. McCabe. Absolutely. But I feel that education must come first.

Senator Mondale. Do you know of a way of desegregating more schools without busing?

Mrs. McCabe. Surely, through housing patterns. Because by forced busing, I have some statistics here that prove without a doubt, throughout the country, that you only resegregate cities. New York City resegregated—Long Island, resegregated—Cleveland, resegregated—Baltimore, resegregated—Gary, Indiana, resegregated—Mt. Vernon, New York, resegregated—Washington, D.C., resegregated—Atlanta, resegregated.

Senator Mondale. What is your position with respect to whether people should obey the court orders of the land?

We are not facing just a public policy question whether we like or do not like something, we have an order of the Supreme Court in this case, which says that a school district will follow a certain course which includes busing. That is based on an order of the Supreme Court, which, in turn, is based upon their interpretation of the Constitution of the United States.

This law and position and opinion has been maintained not only by the previous Court, but unanimously under the present Court, under Chief Justice Burger.

Is it your position that that law should be obeyed or changed?

And if you are unsuccessful in changing it, what is your position?

Law Should Be Changed

Mrs. McCabe. It is my position that that law should be changed. And I have no doubt that it will be changed since I know that the majority of the people involved in this country, the majority of the votes in this country, are opposed to the busing.

Senator Mondale. Suppose you are wrong. What laws do we obey? The laws that are popular?

Or, do we obey the laws that are on the book.

Mrs. McCabe. We obey the laws that are on the book. I disagree with this law, as do a majority of the people, and we intend to amend it.

Senator Mondale. Until you are successful, and if you are successful, but until so, what is your position? Should the law be obeyed?

Mrs. McCabe. We have worked within the law from the very beginning. As I said, our entire objective is to—well, I believe the Constitution gives the citizenry the duty, not just the right, but the duty to take it upon themselves to return government to the people, and where there are unjust laws, take it upon themselves to, within the framework of the system, and in our case it is within the framework of the two lawsuits and working on the Constitutional amendment, being a law-abiding citizen.

Senator Mondale. Senator Hart?

Senator Hart. No questions.

Thank you very much, Mrs. McCabe.

Senator MONDALE. Congressman Conyers?

Mr. CONYERS. Yes. I want to explain, I am not a member of the Senate, but I am in the House of Representatives, and I am interested in the problem because it is a Detroit-area situation.

What if we used some other method of transportation, for example, bicycles, or scooters or roller skates, would that meet your objections as to the danger of buses as a vehicle of transportation?

Mrs. MCCABE. No, sir. I disapprove of transporting youngsters away from their neighborhood.

The mode of transportation, I was just pointing out here how dangerous this particular mode is. But it does not, in any way, alter my position on removing youngsters from their neighborhood school.

Mr. CONYERS. Then how do we live up to the mandate issued by the courts that we have to correct the situation of racial imbalance that exists in the public school system?

Mrs. MCCABE. Well, I thought we were talking about education here, and equal educational opportunity.

I don't think it has anything to do with racial balances. I believe racial balances are artificial and have nothing to do with equal educational opportunities.

Mr. CONYERS. Then you don't agree with the Supreme Court and other decisions that have come down on the subject, that suggest that children of any race cannot be given a totally sound education if they are not in contact with children of different racial backgrounds?

You are familiar with that theory, aren't you?

Mrs. MCCABE. I have heard it several times.

Mr. CONYERS. You don't agree with that?

Mrs. MCCABE. We have an integrated city, Mr. Conyers. We have an integrated city. So I see no reason to bus youngsters away from their neighborhood school.

Mr. CONYERS. If we have an integrated city in Pontiac, that would imply that we would have an integrated school system.

Mrs. MCCABE. And we do, and we did. It may not fall into equal racial, equal racial type of integration. But this is artificial. It is not necessary.

Mr. CONYERS. Are you sure that there aren't literally all-black schools in Pontiac, as well as literally all-white schools?

Mrs. MCCABE. You are welcome to look at this at any time.

Mr. CONYERS. You mean that that situation does not exist?

Mrs. MCCABE. There was one in the 1969–70 school year.

Mr. CONYERS. Now, in other words, you don't then agree with the basic philosophy that underlies the court decisions that are requiring the kind of activities that are going on within the school district?

You think that the importance of having everyone go to school without regard to their color is unimportant? You intend to see to it that they do not meet and are not educated with children of different racial backgrounds?

SHOULD BE COLORBLIND

Mrs. MCCABE. I think that we should all be colorblind, that youngsters should go to school closest to their homes, have the influence of their parents in that school and all schools should offer equal educational opportunities as far as materials offered, adequate facilities, and what-have-you.

I like to be colorblind.

Mr. CONYERS. What advice do you give to the black parents whose children are going to all of the schools that you have suggested are in very serious disrepair, that are very dangerous——

Mrs. MCCABE. No, I have not suggested that, sir.

Mr. CONYERS. They are not?

Mrs. MCCABE. I have said statistics that show all of the schools offer equal facilities and materials.

You are welcome to look at this study also.

Mr. CONYERS. I thought you made reference to the dangerous situation that exists in schools, in certain schools, as a result of children being bused into them?

Mrs. MCCABE. The dangerous situation has nothing to do with——

Mr. CONYERS. The quality of education?

Mrs. MCCABE. The quality. The dangerous situation is only brought about because of this forced busing. It only raised tensions in the communities, polarized people.

Mr. CONYERS. My problem is that there have been others who have testified here today, before this subcommittee, who have indicated that people are beginning to appreciate some of the values in an integrated school situation in the city, and that it has positive values and that the children are probably doing much better under it than some of the parents.

Have you any evidence or experience, anything that compares with that kind of testimony?

Mrs. MCCABE. I have exposure to hundreds and thousands of people daily. I listen to their tales of woe daily. I listen to the youngsters. The young people call me up, "Despite what you hear, Mrs. McCabe, despite what was in the paper last night" such and such happened.

Consequently, I can say to you very, very clearly, gentlemen, please, there could have been 2,000 people here, who are on this same point of view as I am, but it really was not necessary.

Things are not working out. The youngsters are not even able to get an education because of what is going on in the schools.

Mr. CONYERS. Thank you very much.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

Our next witness consists of a panel, Mrs. Judith Hussey, Bus Supervisor; Mrs. Carole Sweeney; Mrs. Marie Johnson, all of Pontiac.

STATEMENT OF MRS. JUDITH ANN HUSSEY, BUS SUPERVISOR, PONTIAC CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM

Senator MONDALE. We will take them in the order I read the names. Mrs. Judith Hussey first.

Mrs. HUSSEY. My name is Judith Hussey. That I know. But I do not know what I am doing here, as I am not an educator nor an instigator, although the second of the two may be debated. I am a procrastinator and that is my excuse for this statement being so disorganized.

In this statement concerning the Pontiac School District I am going to try and refrain from dealing with any of the absolutely negative history of this district because I think that by the end of the day that would prove to be redundant. What I would like to deal with is the present potential for an extremely positive future.

Pontiac is my hometown. I was born and raised there, attended Pontiac's public schools, and over the past few years developed a deep concern over what was happening to my city. About that time I became quite involved with the municipal and educational aspects of the city.

Although I realize that these two aspects are legally and technically completely autonomous, in actuality they cannot be so as they so much affect each other. One is a mirror of the other.

If you have a totally negative situation, where do you start? With the municipality, insofar as open housing, equal job opportunity, et cetera, or with the educational system and equal educational opportunity.

Decision Has Been Made

One can debate these questions forever, which is precisely the idea for those who do not want or care for change. But Pontiac's debate on that particular topic is over. The decision has been made for us and the answer is equal educational opportunity.

Education is very important to me as I share a belief that I borrowed from the Jewish culture; that life and living should be a continual educational process. Education to me is not just learning to make a living, but also learning to live in this society.

Since our society is so complex and everchanging, continual education is a prerequisite just to keep up with the changes. It is for this reason that I am a student at Oakland Community College, and also for this reason that I became a bus supervisor at the beginning of this school year for the Pontiac School District. And now I would like to tell you about my school bus runs and my children.

I work out of Jefferson Junior High School, a formerly all-black junior high school on Pontiac's south side. For those of you who are not familiar with Pontiac, this school is located in the heart of and I quote "Colored Town" end quote.

Also for those of you who would worry about my safety in such a situation, don't; it is needless. I drive back and forth to that school every day. I leave my car parked there, the majority of the time unlocked, and neither me nor my car have been assaulted or treated offensively in any way.

I might add, the people that live in that area do not know me from Irene McCabe. As a matter of fact I have been, at a distance, mistaken for her. So I would venture to say even she would be relatively safe should she decide to visit Jefferson Junior High, although I cannot state insofar as the students are concerned as to how welcome she would be.

I have found the administrative staff at Jefferson to be extremely effective with the students and would like to take this time to commend them.

Mr. Darelyl Lee, Principal; Mr. Patterra, Assistant Principal; and Mr. Williams, Assistant Principal for Attendance.

Jefferson has an enrollment of 668. Breakdown: 273 black students, 395 white students and 33 Spanish figured into the white enrollment. Approximately two-thirds of Jefferson's students are bused from other areas of the city. Jefferson is a seventh grade school.

"Say It Loud Cause We Are Proud"

The students and staff at Jefferson Junior High seem to be infected with this motto. These stickers and buttons are everywhere and on almost everyone.

I find it fascinating to find this kind of school spirit, and in such abundance, so early in the year and under the present circumstances. It is not the kind of school spirit that one might expect to find insofar as competetive sports and interscholastics. It is so much more than that and so hard to define. These children are making it together and they know it and they dig it. And against a lot of outside pressurers.

About 2 weeks ago my children got on the bus really down. A few of them near tears. I was almost afraid to ask them what was wrong. I didn't have to. They volunteered as they needed to talk to someone about it. They were going to lose the principal they had had since school started. He was being promoted and sent down to central administration.

These children had no involvement with or even knowledge of this man prior to the beginning of this school year. Yet his leaving was causing them sorrow.

Who was this man who had such a beautiful yet unexplainable relationship with these children? His name is Dr. Odell Nails. Incidentally, he is black. The children, feeling such sorrow upon his leaving, were white. For some of them this was their first experience with a black person insofar as their educational process was concerned.

Speakers Bureau Organized

Last week at Jefferson a group of about 25 students got themselves together and organized a speakers bureau. They want to let everyone know what is going on with them and their fellow students. They then contacted different agencies and organizations to let them know they were available to come and tell it like it is insofar as Jefferson Junior High is concerned. Yesterday they appeared on the "Morning Show" in Detroit, a local television show, and in the evening on Channel 56, national educational television.

In last Friday's Pontiac Press there appeared an article concerning the incidents and alleged incidents of violence and harrassment that took place in the Pontiac school system listing the high schools and junior highs on a week-to-week breakdown and then totaling these for an 8-week period. Only one school totaled out zero and that school was Jefferson Junior High.

I could not help but notice that the two schools with the highest incident rate, totally out of proportion with the other schools, were schools which have been picketed almost continually by NAG and have suffered a great deal of parent harrassment. I also think that the Press was remiss in not printing comparative data insofar as incidents during the same time period in previous years.

Now on to the buses. I am a bus supervisor on Bus No. 71 in the Pontiac School District. My runs cover four out of the six junior highs in this district. All of the children on these particular runs are 7th and 8th graders. Time-wise the runs vary from 12 to 15 minutes. The number of students on a load vary from 35 to 45. There has been no incidents of violence or harrassment on my runs, although two boys have had to be disciplined for excessive horseplay.

Checking with the staff at Jefferson, the same holds true for them insofar as any buses arriving or departing from Jefferson.

In summary I would like to say that I am not trying to imply that since things are going remarkably well at Jefferson that the same holds true for all the schools in our district. I am simply saying that if it can happen at Jefferson, and it has, that it is more than a possibility, in fact a probability, that this same type of situation can spread to all of the Pontiac schools.

The variables are the same insofar as integration, busing, socio-economic mix, et cetera. Why then is there such an extreme difference between Jefferson and, say, Kennedy Junior High School? Outside of the difference in age of 1½ to 2 years, the only other thing that I have been able to observe is NAG pickets and influence, and parental harrassment of students.

We can make it work in this city. It is working in many parts of the city and it has to work in all parts of the city. We have no other choice. The future of our children is at hand.

Senator MONDALE. I think we will hear from the full panel and then ask questions.

Mrs. Sweeney.

STATEMENT OF MRS. CAROLE SWEENEY, MOTHER, PONTIAC, MICH.

Mrs. SWEENEY. The objections to busing are many and varied and I will attempt to address myself to some of those objections and relate them to the Pontiac situation.

One we hear is that parents do not want their children bused across town. In Pontiac the distance most of the students who are bused, as Mrs. Hussey testified, is 6 miles, certainly not a prohibitive distance. To most of the children 6 miles may have been a long journey, but we took those journeys in our childhood often. I had to walk 6 miles to the nearest swimming pool.

I know that times have changed and the traffic is different, but so are the children of today. They are better able to cope than we were. And most of the children enjoy the bus ride.

Although the issue of safety has come up often, in the case of busing for equal education, the issue seldom came up previously. The parents who are now worried about safety signed permission slips for field trips on buses without any qualms for years.

Another excuse: many say that since we have open housing, busing is not necessary. This phrase is used by many of our lawmakers, as a matter of fact. And, astoundingly—or perhaps not so astoundingly—those same lawmakers were against open housing when it was being passed because of rather obvious economic and social reasons.

Open housing is not enough to produce equality of education and the purpose of busing is to produce a more equitable educational system, not just for race mixing.

CONSTITUTION IS GUIDE

Another objection is that busing is unconstitutional or that neighborhood schools are constitutional rights. Fortunately the men who wrote the Constitution were far-sighted enough not to include specifics. Rather, they made the Constitution a general document, a guide.

Neighborhood schools are traditional rather than a Constitutional right. Tradition should not take precedence over either the letter or the spirit of the law.

I should add that neighborhood schools are traditional if you are white and your neighborhood school is white or if you are black and your neighborhood school is black. Otherwise the tradition is to be bused to the school where your color predominates and, make no mistake, this has happened in Pontiac.

The issue of freedom of choice is a valid Constitutional issue except when the freedom of choice of the majority interferes with or deprives the minority of their rights.

Another reason against busing: busing is counterproductive. Counterproductive to what end I have to ask. The purpose of busing is to equalize education and to teach children to learn to accept one another.

School integration was not proposed as a method of teaching adults to get along, although that has been a pleasant side effect in some Pontiac schools. It is for children to have the opportunity to learn about other people firsthand rather than in negative stories in newspapers or from books.

The white parents feel if the children do not accept their values of racism there may be other values that they hold that their children will not accept.

Another reason: many people are afraid for the safety of their children in black neighborhoods because black people are more violent than white people. The record shows that in Pontiac schools violence did not occur at the so-called black schools during the first week of school. The high schools had serious fights and have been having serious fights for several years and this cannot be attributed to busing. It can be attributed to a lack of understanding of black students and black students reaching the high school level realizing their previous education has been inadequate.

The junior high schools where buses were stopped by angry pickets and children jeered at had trouble from the start. Elementary schools from the start have been peaceful except for white protesters.

I might add here that black violence has increased in the Pontiac schoo's after nonvio'ent black demonstrations were met with such repressive force by police and school administrators that they were discontinued.

Many black students in Pontiac were attempting to settle disputes by leading nonviolent confrontations and demonstrations, and their reward was to be excluded from school, arrested or harrassed to the point that they gave up their efforts.

Role of Community Leaders

The same sad story applies to the black community adult leaders. When effective nonviolent leadership is not only viewed as being violent, but is for all intents and purposes rendered impotent, despair takes over. Violence is an expression of despair, and an attempt to cope with all other alternatives at one's disposal have failed.

During this period when black leadership in Pontiac was being castigated, the same white leadership that has now turned on the school board and turned Pontiac inside out was being encouraged by

the school administration and elected school officials as a means of putting black people down.

Pontiac today is a case of chickens coming home to roost. What has happened in Pontiac in terms of white resistance to integration did not happen in other cities where the leadership took a strong positive stand.

All of us, myself included, watched passively as the white community was whipped into a frenzy. The officials had an obligation to offset the actions taken by these antibusing groups, but they made little more than token efforts.

When you consider a statement made by one of the school board members, an elected official, Mrs. Lucille Marshall, "I want every nigger to get an education even if it is only to the 8th grade so they can learn to push a broom and stay off welfare," we can certainly see why.

And the rest of us, as private citizens, because busing is an unpopular issue, were not diligent from the start. The bombings of the buses jarred us to our senses and we realized that the type of action that had been taking place had to be fought and we began to fight.

The private citizen is sometimes a bit more diligent than some of the public officials. But I will have to say at this point, since I have been negative about this school administration, that this same administration has devised a plan that I certainly consider fair and equitable.

As for crime in the black community, the same people who were screaming about the high crime rate would not hesitate to send their children to Grosse Pointe schools. Grosse Pointe, for those of you not from Michigan, is where many of the members of the Mafia reside. The people who deal in dope and white slavery and get the graft from our county government, that cheats us out of the things we need to fight crime.

Another objection is that the educational level will drop for the white students. We all have an obligation to see to it that our children, all of our children, receive an education that enables them to cope and compete, not only in the world of today but in the world of tomorrow.

Students have shown that the level of education in an integrated situation does not drop for the white students any more than property values drop when black people move into a neighborhood. This is another racist myth.

I want quality education not only for my children, but for everyone's child because all of our children's destinies are linked.

I also want to give my children a better world than I received. I don't want them to have to support people on welfare, mental institutions and in prisons who are forced into these positions because of inadequate educations.

Lastly I say—pardon me. Busing is a red herring, a euphemism. My white friends at the bus depot on the first day of school were not called bus lovers. They were called nigger lovers.

Lastly I submit to you the case of Redwood City, California, which adopted a plan quite similar to the plan we have in Pontiac of primary and secondary elementary schools. There was crosstown busing. There was not one cry from irate parents. Redwood City, California, is an all-white city.

Thank you, gentlemen.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you.

Mrs. Johnson?

STATEMENT OF MRS. MARIE JOHNSON, CHAIRMAN, PONTIAC NEIGHBORHOOD EDUCATION CENTER

Mrs. JOHNSON. To the Senate hearing on Equal Educational Opportunities, ladies and gentlemen: my name is Marie Johnson. I am Chairman of the Pontiac Neighborhood Education Center which works to get children back in school who have dropped out, been kicked out or generally forced out. We do not think of the children as drop-outs; we call them "forced-outs."

I belong to many of the organizations involved. I do not want to list them all here. But I think I can state accurately that I am a representative of that part of the community whose slogan is "Let's Make It Work."

You may get the impression from things that are said here that the Pontiac Board of Education and especially its superintendent Mr. Dana P. Whitmer, has observed the law of the land in enforcing school desegregation. Except for the two black members of the board this has not been true.

FORCED TO INTEGRATE

When Judge Keith's order to desegregate the schools came through Mr. Whitmer failed to make any positive statements throwing his full support behind the court order. He failed to do anything to alleviate tensions built up by the open opponents of the court order. The most he ever did was to indicate merely that he was being forced to integrate the schools because of the court order.

Mr. Whitmer and the white majority on the board have never been supporters of school integration. On the contrary, for the past 16 years they have consciously worked to increase segregation of the schools, to change the school zones to increase the number of blacks in predominantly black schools and to arrange it so white children go to white schools.

In fact, the board has even gone so far as to spend millions of taxpayers' dollars to build unnecessary schools—especially elementary schools—to make sure that white children did not go to schools where there were black children, and so on.

To show how ridiculous this can be, in one case Mr. Whitmer built a white school for just 161 white children.

Now I want to tell you about those 161 children as an example of the racist policy of Mr. Whitmer and the white majority of the board.

Their complaining about busing here is very hypocritical because those 161 children for many years had been bused past other neighborhood schools so they could go to all-white schools farther away. But when those all-white schools became overcrowded, did Mr. Whitmer send those children to the local neighborhood schools? No, he did not. Instead, he had the nerve to build a tiny little school for 161 white children so as to make sure they would not go to school with black children.

In the mid-1950's when black people began to move into a predominantly white area in western Pontiac a separate school was built on the black side of a railroad track to make sure that it would be all-black. This is the Bethune School. This guaranteed that parents of white

children would not want to send their children across the railroad tracks. So it was organized brilliantly to achieve segregation.

Now, incidentally, the parents of black children protested this move because they were concerned about the safety of their children. At least part of the black population would have to cross those tracks, too. This zoning took some real planning on the part of Mr. Whitmer and the white board majority to ensure segregation.

Around 1950 we started the fight to get black teachers hired in the Pontiac school system. We didn't have a single black teacher. The board agreed to hire a black teacher but they stipulated that she must be "very fair." Not only that, the black community had to spend its own money to recruit that one black teacher.

About that "very fair" teacher. The reason she had to look almost white was so she would not frighten the white students. The board was afraid to start at the elementary level. So the first black teacher was hired in the one high school in Pontiac and, of course, that high school had some black children in it because it was the only high school.

Later on, as some schools became all-black, the board recruited black teachers so they could teach black children. Of course, they didn't hire them to teach any white children for the board policy was then, as it is now, basically segregationist.

This was pointed out by the Pontiac Equal Opportunity Report which showed the city of Pontiac in the 1960's, the ills and injustices heaped not only on black children but on black teachers as well.

We fought to get an assistant black superintendent, Mr. John Purdue, who understood the problems of the black community and had the respect of the community. We were able to get some token victories of black teachers into white schools. Today there are a few black teachers in predominantly white schools, mainly because of the court order.

Better Material Resources

Then there is the question of material resources for education. We had long noted that white schools had better equipment, better teaching materials, and better curriculum than the black schools. Even in the junior high schools white children could study foreign languages, but not black students.

When the board was asked why black schools did not have what white schools had the answer was that the white PTA's had raised the money and purchased equipment and materials. Frankly, we do not believe this story was ever true. It was simply a question of discrimination against blacks in preparing the school budgets.

In 1955, when it became clear that the board was gerrymandering the school districts so that Bethune School would be all black even though whites lived in that school district, Mr. Milton Henry, a prominent and able Pontiac attorney, with his foresight, saw that the board was fostering segregation in a calculated plan.

He filed suit in a case that went to Federal court, *Henry* versus *Pontiac Board of Education*. His case was denied.

This caused the Pontiac Board of Education to believe it now had a green light to keep on gerrymandering district boundary lines and to build schools where they were not needed so as to have all-black schools and all-white schools.

When the Woodward Estates area was all-white the students went to all-white Eastern Junior High School. But when blacks moved in, instead of going to Eastern along with other white youths of Woodward Estates, the black students had to go to Jefferson Junior High back in the other direction so they couldn't go to school with whites.

More on the Woodward Estates. Later, when it became nearly all black there was one exclusive apartment complex in it by the name of Bloomfield Terraces. These children did not go to Jefferson along with the other neighborhood children, that is to their neighborhood school.

We asked the board, we asked the superintendent, where these children went to school, and we were told that the school census takers were never allowed in there so the board never knew. Or so they said. We suspect those children were transported out to predominantly white Pontiac schools.

To illustrate further the segregationist policies of the board, when Whittier Elementary School became overloaded and they were in the process of building another predominantly black school nearby, the black Whittier children were bused to a predominantly white school. Those children were segregated in that white school building with separate teachers, separate lunchrooms and separate recesses. You can't get more segregated in a so-called integrated situation.

When Urban Renewal came in the better homes were bought up. Blacks moved into substandard homes; Whites moved out. This caused Wilson School, McConnell School, and Eastern Junior High School to become predominantly black.

Wilson and McConnell Schools were badly deteriorated. We black community people pleaded with the board to improve those schools but they refused. They said they would build a Human Resources Center and this, they said, would give the school system a better racial balance.

A Human Resource Center is an aggregation of schools designed to bring together black and white children with the best possible materials, facilities and staffing.

The board was buying up all the white property so this would guarantee the center becoming an all-black Human Resources Center by the time it was completed. It was completed very recently.

The only reason it is racially balanced is due to the *Keith* decision, not due to the boards plans or its actions.

So now we have an integrated Human Resources Center which would have been predominantly black and therefore would have been subject to the board's destructive segregationist policies. But thanks to the *Keith* decision this center is integrated, along with the other schools in the City of Pontiac. And only now do we have a chance for equal education, and ultimately a superior quality education for all.

False Stories About Violence

For nearly 2 months NAG and the media have been building big false stories about violence in the schools when we know that the real violence is where the NAG pickets are. They upset the children with their picket lines and their four-letter words about blacks. This causes some fight-back on the part of black children.

However, in spite of this, in general the children get along very well. And at those schools where there are no NAG pickets there is

little violence. We have this on the authority of those on the spot, policemen, counselors, teachers, and the students themselves.

In the predominantly black areas where NAG claims there is violence and fear of violence, there is no violence. All the violence is NAG-inspired violence, and only NAG-inspired violence in those communities where NAG has strong support.

Let's talk about Federal funded programs. Title I programs were to be geared to areas where children were so-called "underachieving," according to middle-class tests and standards. But at no time has any black been on the policymaking end for spending Title I money and gearing it to black and minority children. It is the same old story; whites telling blacks what is best for them. However, we do have parental involvement in Title I planning, laymen, but no professional blacks at the policy level.

I would like to commend Assistant Superintendent Mr. William Lacy, who has made a positive approach to "Let's Make It Work." If the board and the superintendent had taken that kind of position, much of the tension in Pontiac could have been avoided.

Also, Mr. John Purdue, who was the "black token" in Community Relations, with no policymaking powers. When there was trouble in the schools, Mr. Purdue was always called upon as whipping boy to quiet down the problems caused by board actions. We vigorously tried to get him in as an assistant superintendent, which is very much needed. However, the white majority on the board felt that our "black boy" couldn't quiet down the community protesting inequities heaped on black people, so they didn't want him anymore.

I would like to say the only reason white society in Pontiac is uptight about busing is because this is the first time black children have been able to say, "Busing is Fun."

Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

Senator Hart?

Senator HART. Thank you very much, ladies.

Senator MONDALE. Congressman Conyers.

Mr. CONYERS. Thank you very much, Senator.

I just want to commend this panel of ladies who are, in effect, contributing what appears to be a great deal to making the school system work under the court order and under the plans that have come about for readjusting racial imbalance that have existed in Pontiac schools.

It seems to me that we might ask you the question, what would you have us do that would be of more assistance to you?

I should apologize for having to ask that question, because perhaps we should have a long list of answers to some of the problems and be presenting them to you.

But does anything come to you, since you have traveled this distance here, that you would have us know in terms of how in the Congress, here in Washington. For those of us who are concerned about living under the spirit of the law and seeing that this great, important experiment of the 1970's ends successfully, can you think of suggestions you would leave with us?

Mrs. JOHNSON. The only thing I could address myself to, Congressman Conyers, is that the news media and this National Action Group has blown things up out of proportion.

WOULD WELCOME INSPECTION

We would welcome anyone that wanted to come in and to monitor our schools and see that all this violence is not happening that has been stated.

Mr. CONYERS. Would you recommend that from the appropriate committee in the Congress, that a visit be paid to the Pontiac school system?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Surely, we would appreciate it. We would like to see Mr. Hart come.

Mrs. HUSSEY. I have one suggestion and that is concerning this money to help schools that are trying to implement integration plans and then penalizing the schools by withholding moneys to help the transportation pools, because we have to pay those transportation costs regardless, and we are having to take moneys out of other programs.

Now, I happen to think that right now the thing we are doing has to have a priority, but if we could get some additional moneys, so that these programs would not have to be cut to the point that they have, and so we could have all of our teachers, which we had to cut quite a few of those, too, that this would help a great deal.

Mr. CONYERS. Thank you.

Mrs. SWEENEY. I have something, I don't know if it is—actually, maybe it is not appropriate. It is an offshoot of the first week of school, and the problems we had with equal law enforcement and perhaps the Justice Department investigation. Perhaps our Congressmen and our Senators from Michigan could ask for a Justice Department probe into the Pontiac law enforcement officials.

Mr. CONYERS. Do I hear you suggesting that there is unfairness in the way that the law operates in terms of the incidents that arise out of integration?

Mrs. SWEENEY. Most certainly.

Mrs. JOHNSON. We had policemen picketing the bus gates the first morning.

Mrs. HUSSEY. Obstructing the bus.

Mr. CONYERS. In uniform?

Mrs. JOHNSON. No, he wasn't in uniform. He was off duty.

Mrs. HUSSEY. He was my cousin.

Mrs. JOHNSON. Police—when NAG was arrested for that it was after the State police came in, because we had to get the State police and the sheriff's department, because our police department wasn't doing anything. The Pontiac police organization gave NAG $300 to support themselves in their court case.

Mrs. SWEENEY. As an afterthought, 4 days later, they gave the NAACP $300 to encourage them to fight in the courts.

Mrs. JOHNSON. One other thing I would like to say and then I am finished.

We would like you to take a very close look at how our moneys are spent for Federal-funded programs.

Mrs. HUSSEY. There is one other thing I want to say.

The one lady that lives next door to me, who has kept her children out of school, and who has been in NAG, sent her children to school last week, so, you know, these things, they are happening, you know, and we are making progress in this area.

Mrs. JOHNSON. Thank you very much.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

Senator MONDALE. Our final panel consists of Mrs. Jo Ann Walker, Reading Teacher, Pontiac School System and Mrs. Patricia Johnson, also a teacher in the Pontiac City School System.

STATEMENT OF MRS. JO ANN WALKER, READING TEACHER, PONTIAC CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM

Senator MONDALE. We will hear first from Mrs. Walker.

Mrs. WALKER. Giving honor to Senator Mondale, the Select Committee on Equal Education Opportunity, fellow participants, and interested observers, it is indeed an honor and most welcomed opportunity and privilege to share with you my deepest concerns for the future of mankind.

Although I prepared a statement, I will deviate from it from time to time.

Senator MONDALE. We will put your statement in the record* as if it was read and you can just tell us what you want us to know.

Mrs. WALKER. Right.

Since it has been said that Pontiac City schools were equally supplied, I have for the most part dealt in my statement with this area. I first came to Pontiac from Illinois. I went through the Centralia, Illinois school system and Southern Illinois University. I taught 3 years in Peoria, Illinois, before coming to Michigan. I am sorry that Adlai Stevenson, III, is not here, because I would have to compliment him.

STUDENTS FAR BEHIND

I really feel that Illinois students are getting a better education than those in Michigan. I realized I didn't know how to teach, even though I had taught for 3 years, because I had never taugh children that were so far behind.

We all know that in the universities and colleges, they only teach us to teach those children that can read and the ones that can achieve. We are not really taught to teach the children who have learning difficulties and problems.

McConnell School was the first school I started teaching in and we didn't have enough books. The teachers on tenure got first choice of the books and the rest of us had to take whatever was left. I found many children reading much below the grade level and I was not equipped at that time to handle it. I did the best I could, teaching in what was called a portable, a building that was supposed to be temporary. However it was still in use last year and that was 9 years ago I was in it. It snowed, rained, and leaked in it. There were no restrooms or water facilities, we had to go into the main building for everything we needed.

The next year I was transferred into the 5th grade and in the main building—which also leaked—was raggedy and snow came in. During the winter, on many days, we had to wear our coats. We did not have enough books, we did not have enough materials and supplies. And both Illinois and Michigan are guilty, were guilty at that time, of making children sit in the classrooms who had not paid for their work books and humiliate them until the parents brought their money in.

*See prepared statement, p. 9887.

I think in a country where we have so much money and so many resources, it is a national disgrace to have children sit through that humiliation. And even though myself, as a child, I had to sit through that kind of humiliation, the system forced me to do the same thing to other children. I can remember as a child not having always paid for my books at the beginning of school. This is not happening now in Michigan, but it was when I first came. We cannot talk about the present without talking about the past, because all of us are victims of the past and our past circumstances.

Also in the building, as I said in the statement, there were rats and roaches. I will never forget the day that some of the boys in the class killed a rat with some of the games we had back in the closet. The school was overcrowded and all of the conditions you can talk about in urban schools and all of the literature that has been written, about the degrading conditions of our schools you could find examples of them in Pontiac.

When I first came to Pontiac, I thought education was the way to a better life. This is what I had always been told, if you get an education, you can make it in this world. However, I didn't realize so many barriers could be put in front of me as a teacher, in order to keep me from doing my best job, as well as to keep students from really learning and achieving. The only thing that kept me going was the fact that the students still had faith and still believed they were going to succeed.

After 6 years of working in this environment—since in Illinois I taught in a similar school, but it was much better than the one in Michigan—I decided I wanted to change environments for the sake of my own mental health. I would go home at night thinking and worrying about the students and what was going to become of them. So I asked for and received a transfer, after a degrading experience, and I became a member of the LeBaron School family on the white northeast side of town. And for the record, this is the school where Mrs. McCabe's daughter would go if she were not boycotting.

Experiences in a White School

When I went to LeBaron, it was like going from hell to heaven. Although the difference in travel time between the two schools amounted to only 10 minutes, the difference in the educational environment was unbelievable. There was an open stockroom for one thing—this was the first I had ever seen in my 6 years of teaching. In Illinois we would get the key and go, accompanied by the principal and secretary. In McConnell we didn't know where the stockroom was located. You had to put in a requisition for what you wanted, and seldom were you given what you ordered. One or two things were issued, and you were chastised for using too many paperclips. In LeBaron there was a stockroom full of paper and pencils, everything you needed to do the job. And no one questioned you about what you wanted or told you what you could use. Anything needed, you went in there and got.

And there I was treated as a professional person.

I was the first black teacher on the regular staff, although there were two black teachers in special education. In regards to Mrs. McCabe's statement about no black schools, there were no black children at LeBaron, only in special education classes. The school district uses

these figures to justify the fact that there were only a few black schools. If there was one black child, in the emotionally disturbed class or other special classes, the school district would say the school was not all white.

So, therefore, teachers at LeBaron didn't have an excuse. In black schools teachers could say I don't have the materials to work with, no books, paper or pencils. At LeBaron there were no excuses, no scapegoats, no barriers. The only barrier was the fact that the children were segregated. But to the white parents and students, they didn't feel this was a barrier, having a segregated education. There were still students in the classrooms with learning problems and achievement problems, but there was nothing that physically disabled me from helping those students. I was able to utilize all the skills I had, as well as the skills of the district in order to teach them.

For example: One year I had a child that was emotionally disturbed, and although at LeBaron I had to deal with him for the whole year; the next year he was placed in a special room. Whereas in McConnell, previous to this, there was a girl in the 5th grade, that I referred for special education class. She was offered a placement 4 years later, when she was in the 10th grade.

During my last year at LeBaron, Martin Luther King and Senator Kennedy were assassinated, and riots had occurred the previous summer. Open housing was being discussed throughout the land. As long as I was just a shell and kept these feelings concerning the above events to myself, there were no problems. In other words, I got along well with all of the students and parents and the community and I was very well accepted in this all-white neighborhood.

However, after I began to question my students about some of the things that had happened in our country, some of the injustices in the land, this is where I began to run into difficulty, because the students would go home and question their parents about things I had said. A particular incident is when we were talking about open housing and I had the children bring in articles relating to current events, which is one of the things we were supposed to discuss in our curriculum. So we talked about open housing. Realizing that a lot of the time we think the children understand, they don't. I thought my students understood the meaning of open housing but one little boy asked me, "Mrs. Walker, what does open housing really mean"? I said, "It means this, I am your teacher, you know I love you, and you love me and I am trying to help you become a good citizen, however, because I am black, I couldn't buy a house next door to you no matter how much money I had." So, explained in this manner it really bothered the children and they went home and confronted their parents as to why couldn't Mrs. Walker live next door to us.

Because of this I had several parents who wanted their children taken out of my room. A few other little things like that also happened. There was also a black educators conference I went to, in which Reverend Albert Cleague from Detroit, an able and astute philosopher was keynote speaker. He predicted back in 1968 that we are turning our children into Frankensteins. He said as Frankenstein was created by man who wanted to make a man better than himself. The Frankenstein in the myth of course was not able to be created because the man himself was not perfect. Therefore Frankenstein turned around and destroyed his creator. Rev. Cleague said our chil-

dren are going to destroy us, because we live lies and we try to tell them things that we don't do ourselves. We teach them to hate themselves and as when we place phony values before them.

Contrast With Majority Black School

He went ahead and enlarged on the situation much more. This also bothered me. I decided I would perhaps go back into the black community and do what I could to help our black children. Even though I feel that white children need black teachers, in order to bring some truth and reality and sanity to their lives, I know that black children needed me even more. I asked for a transfer this time and went to Eastern Junior High School, which was fast becoming a black school. Three years had passed at LeBaron, 3 years later I am going back to Eastern Junior High School and it was like I had never left McConnell. The situation, as far as materials and supplies, was the same, we did not have enough things. I had a rare experience, which most teachers do not get. After they teach a group of students and they move to another class, many times we never see them in a classroom station. By coming back to the junior high school I had an opportunity to see some of the students I taught in elementary, as well as some I knew. It saddened me at what some of them had become. Some of them hadn't even made it to junior high school. Sides had been drawn, whereas in McConnell, we had black, Spanish Americans and whites, although a majority were black we shared a lot of things together.

My last year at McConnell my 5th grade class shared the horrible experience of President Kennedy's assassination. We all cried and we talked. Three years later at Eastern, already the racial polarization had started. Some of the students were failing, some had not succeeded, all of them were too old before their times. They were still kids, still 13, 14, 15 years old, but they were already turned off. Again we had to wear our coats on many wintry days because it was cold, although in some classrooms it was so hot you had to have the windows open because the furnace was not working properly even as of last school term. Snow and rain came in the windows, supplies and materials were inadequate. Some teachers didn't have pencils and chalk for 2 months last year. *Pencils and chalk!*

Within our city, as has been talked about, there was a lot of political activity, nonviolent boycotts, petitions, sit-ins, to try to make the school board sensitive to the needs of the black community and none of these things worked.

Even though Eastern Junior High School was supposedly a Title I school and was supposed to be receiving moneys for compensatory education, I wish to state that my 3 years there were spent fighting for things LeBaron and other schools which were not Title I, took for granted. But what effect has all this had on the children? They will never forget the cold and dirt, the hunger, fear, and horror. I am sure it was just as horrifying for the so-called bad students, although I don't think there are any bad students—there are those students we have failed miserably as adults—as well as the so-called good students. The good students knew the situation at Eastern was just a temporary thing for them. The so-called bad students knew it was a deadend.

During this past summer, since the integration plan, the school was revamped and redecorated. The school board always said they didn't

have the moneys for this or that, things take time, but somehow between June and September, work crews came in and repaired all of the windows. We had gone for a complete school year with broken windows, some that were broken year before last. But this summer all of the windows were repaired, it was painted, plastered. I was involuntarily transferred to Jefferson Junior High School, but I really wanted to stay at Eastern for the sake of my reading program. When I went to Eastern to move out my things I saw that each teacher had a box with staples, staplers, magic markers, things we had never seen in our years there. Because of integration they were given everything that was necessary to do a good job.

Jefferson Conditions Terrible

After seeing the changes at Eastern I was sort of feeling happy. I said that if they have done this to Eastern, maybe they will do it at Jefferson, because Jefferson was an all-black school. When I went over to Jefferson, it was the same situation previous to the change. It was in a bad state of disrepair and still is. We have in the girls' bathrooms no doors on the toilets. In talking to the principal about this, "Why aren't there doors?" Dr. Nails said that there hadn't been any on since he had been there, and he had been there 2½ years. There were no paper towel dispensers and no soap. It needs painting and plaster is broken off. In the science labs, the faucets are still broken, they were broken when I left there the other day. The sinks need repairing also.

In my room the light is so bad that we need to have lamps in order to see. There are still many problems with the building, even though at the school there is a good emotional climate and a good atmosphere with the integration. Some of us went to our past schools and brought some things to Jefferson that were not there.

Now we are in the third month of school. I am the reading teacher at Jefferson. In September we tested all of the students in reading. I knew what the results were going to be and I predicted them. The reason why I did this, because everybody likes to deny—and it has been denied here today—that all children are getting a quality education. They say all children are, but this is not true. We tested all of the students in our school, and of the 558 tested—the reason there are 558 students is because at that time we still had parents keeping children out of school—411 of those students are reading from 1 to 6 years below grade level.

I realize that the test might be culturally biased—they are culturally biased—and it was a time when there were tensions in the city. But any kind of variable you could mention as to why the results are so low is still a national disgrace. For in this country, where we have perfected instruments that we can send to the moon and take temperatures and read the readings back on earth, but yet we cannot teach children, have not taught children, to read the language they speak, we must bow our heads in shame.

Now this would average out to the fact that perhaps 75 percent of the students at Jefferson are reading below grade level. I understand this is also the national average, which means that Michigan is no exception but the rule. We have nothing to be ashamed of, except the fact that all of us should be ashamed of this.

However, of this percentage, 87 percent of the black children are reading from 1 to 6 years below grade level, and 63 percent of the white students are reading from 1 to 6 years below grade level. I point this out to say that you can't keep blacks down without keeping yourself down. This is what has happened in this country, by trying to keep blacks down, by trying to not provide the educational opportunities for blacks, we really haven't educated any of the students sufficiently. We have put them out into the world of crime, prostitution, and narcotics. They are dropping out, they are turning off. All kinds of things are happening to our youth. The youths are us. They are the future for the human race. Whether or not we want to admit it, if we lose them, we are lost as a people. As human beings we are a minority on this earth. They said the insects were here millions of years before we came and they will be here millions of years after we are gone. We cannot afford to lose our most valuable resource.

Although I was very disappointed to hear Mr. Irwin's negative attitude toward an integrated education I admire his honesty.

However, he is the President of our Board of Education, and when he sits here and says, "my children, I want my children to have as good an education," and he insinuated if he didn't, he might be forced to move out of the school district too, he should be impeached. His job is to provide and do everything necessary for a good education for all of the children in the city. So we cannot allow the caste, the class systems to keep us as a people, as human beings, from surviving on this earth.

He also made a statement that the NAACP "won a battle but lost a war." I don't think the NAACP lost the war, because the war is survival and survival for us as a people, as human beings. So if the NAACP has lost a war, humans have lost a war, because as Brother Conyers said, "how far can you run, how far can they run, how far can suburbia be?"

Okay, we are in Pontiac, they can run from Pontiac, but they have to stop in Detroit when they go south. They have to stop at Flint when they go north. They have to stop in Mt. Clemens when they go east and Lansing to the west. In other words, we are all around. Unless they plan to exterminate us like they did the Jews, which I don't think you can do in this day and age, but maybe so, then there will have to be and there must be ways we can work this out so we do not have unequal education, so we do not have two systems and so that we do have a better life for everybody.

I would like to say also, pertaining to integration, that we have lost some black teachers and black administrators in our school system that we in the black community have fought so hard for. But I think we would be willing to accept these losses if we felt, in the end, everything was going to come out all right. I don't know whether it will or not.

I am not optimistic, I am not pessimistic, I am, however, hoping that things do come out all right and that my children and your children can live in a world where they are free to go in any direction that their potential and their interests will allow them.

In other words, as I said at the end of my prepared statement, there is a song called "You are a child of the universe, and you have a right to be here." All children have a right to be here, whether black, white,

poor or whatever. It is our obligation to make sure that they have the "right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

I hope this committee, if it does anything, will be able to do that.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MRS. JO ANN WALKER

Giving honor to Senator Mondale, the Select Committee on Equal Education Opportunity, fellow participants, and interested observers, it is indeed an honor and most welcomed opportunity and privilege to share with you my deepest concerns for the future of mankind.

I was born in Centralia, Illinois and physically survived the pits of racism, poverty, and inequities long enough to graduate from Southern Illinois University to become a teacher. A teacher is defined as one who instructs by precept, example, and experience or to cause to know how. I taught in Peoria, Ill. for three years then I came to Pontiac. I was beginning to doubt my fulfilling my dreams to inspire due to so many barriers. In June of 1962, I arrived in Pontiac and was offered, after some theatrics, a position as a third grade teacher at McConnell School. In September, I began my fourth year teaching. Although, we had been given a week's workshop previous to the start of school it turned out to be like learning to swim without water. In Illinois, whatever we were supposed to be teaching, however irrevelant, we at least had the materials and supplies to work with. In McConnell this was not reality. There were not enough books. The tenure teachers had the first choice and we had to take what if any were left. Students were to provide their own pencils and paper. The humiliations that students experienced then and now, due to a lack of paper and pencils, are a disgrace to the nation.

I taught my first year at McConnell in a portable that was to be temporary but was still being used last year. The portable was inadequately heated, it leaked and snow came inside. We had to go the main building for water, the restrooms, and any other needs. With Michigan winters, this must have been miserable as you can well imagine. The next year I was transferred to the main building to a fifth grade class.

The main building was also cold, leaked, and snow blew in the windows. We had to wear our coats on many winter days. There were rats and roaches. The school was overcrowded. Many of the conditions you have read about existing in much larger urban areas, existed there. For the sake of time, I wish to state that the three years of teaching at McConnell completely humanized me. I had come to Pontiac believing that education was the way. I never knew that so many barriers could be placed in the way of my really educating children or them from securing an education. I would go home at night and worry and dream about my fifth grade pupils and wonder what was going to become of them. The only thing that kept me from becoming completely frustrated was the hope the students seem to have that somehow they would succeed.

Because of this great frustration it was imperative for my mental health that I change environments. Six years of working with children, who to our country evidently weren't important were beginning to tell on me. I asked for and received a transfer after a traumatic and degrading experience. I became a member of the "LeBaron family" on the all-white northeast side of town. Although the schools were only ten minutes apart it was like going from hell to heaven. The differences in the two schools was unbelievable! There as an "open stockroom" for one thing. This was the first time I had ever seen one. In Illinois, we could get the key and go accompanied with the principal or the secretary. At McConnell you didn't even know where it was located. The few things we got were rationed to us and you were chastised by the secretary for using too many paperclips. The fact that we spent money on things that should have been supplied by the district was never considered. This distrustful attitude was inhibiting to ones self-esteem, pride, and production.

At LeBaron, you were treated and regarded as a professional person. I was the first black teacher on the regular staff. In a couple of years others were to be added. There were two other black teachers in the two special education classes housed there and a few black special education pupils at that time. A teacher could get whatever she needed or thought she needed to teach those children from whomever it was required. Therefore, there were no excuses, no scapegoats, no barriers to a good education except perhaps that of segregation. However, to the students and their parents, that was no barrier. As a teacher there, I was able to do all kinds of creative things. There were still students

in my classes with learning problems, but there was nothing physically hampering me from utilizing the skills I had and the resources of the district to solve them. Fo rexample, in 1965 at LeBaron, there was a child in my class who was emotionally disturbed. Although I had to deal with his problem that complete school year, he was placed in a special room the next year. On the other hand, at McConnell, I referred a Black girl for testing when she was in the fifth grade. Four years later she was offered placement when she was ready to graduate into senior high school.

During my last year at LeBaron, King and Kennedy were assassinated. The riots had occurred the previous summer, and open housing was being discussed in the land. As long as I was just a shell and kept these feelings concerning the above events to myself, there were no problems. However, when I began to question with my students the problems and injustices of this society and encouraged them to seek and make a better world, a few parents wanted their children taken out of my class. (Relate experiences of open housing and Black Educators conference.) Thus, I decided that even though white children need brave, sensitive black teachers to bring some sanity and truth to their lives black children needed me more. Perhaps, I could save a few from becoming the Frankensteins that had been predicted.

Without any problems I transferred to Eastern Junior High School. (Fast becoming all black.) Here I had the rare opportunity of teaching, relating, and working with students I had previously taught or knew. I could compare how they had progressed since I last saw them. I was also shocked at the change that had come over many of them as well as the general attitude of the other students. The white students had changed as had the black and Spanish Americans. Sides had been drawn. Remembering how we had all cried in our class at McConnell when John F. Kennedy our president, was killed, the trips, the plays, spelling contests and the many other things we had shared, but now three years later they were cynical, some were academically failing, others were succeeding and all too old before their times. Some had lost out already and weren't even in junior high school. How will we, as a nation, ever be able to justify that!

Once again we had to wear our coats on many winter days while in some classes the windows were open because of the heat. Snow and rain came in the windows. Supplies and materials were inadequate. There were many teacher and administrative problems. There was increased political activity for quality education from the black community, sit-ins, boycotts, petitions and many of the things mentioned in the materials I submitted for your study. Even though Eastern was a Title I school and was supposed to have received and be receiving monies for compensatory education. I wish to state that my three years there were spent fighting for things LeBaron and other schools that were not Title I took for granted. But what effect has this have on the children? They will never forget the cold, dirt, the hunger, the fear, the horror. I am sure it was just as horrifying for the "so-called bad ones" as the "so-called good ones". The good students knew that this was just a detour to the road of success. The "bad" students knew it was a dead-end.

During this past summer Eastern Junior High School was completely revamped and decorated. It was stocked with all the materials necessary to do a good job. I was involuntarily transferred to Jefferson Jr. High School. It too is in a bad stage of disrepair. I wish to state that Jefferson was the previously all-black school. It had fewer materials and supplies than Eastern before the revamping and certainly not now. There have been a few improvements since September but not enough.

We are now in the third month of school and since the last part of September we have known that 87% of our black students and 63% of our white students are reading from one to six years below grade level. We are trying to do something but will we be successful and receive cooperation from the central administration in time to help *this year?*

There is song that says "You are a child of the universe, you have a right to be here." Do you believe that and do you also believe that among these rights are "life, liberty and the pursuit of hapiness"? Ignorance is not bliss but a living hell.

Pontiac has not provided a equal education for its students as was proven by the courts. But what of the future? Will we continue to throw our most valuable resources away? Will we continue to leave them no alternative but narcotics, crime, prostitution, prison, welfare and a living death? This government must share the blame with Pontiac. If we can invent instruments that can send messages from the moon hundreds of thousands of miles away but can not find

ways and means to teach children to read the language they speak, we must stand accused! All the cures are known but the will to use them is lacking. Perhaps, this is but a plea for you to act now to save our children. The jails, cemeteries, and streets are filled to the brim with those we have failed to educate. We live in constant fear waiting for their repercussions. If we started today, perhaps, we could save this generation and recover that generation that has dropped out, turned off, and freaked out. Every child must be guaranteed the right to learn free from hunger, cold, and discomforts with all materials necessary to his success. He must be able to envision the end of the road or he will stop before completion.

I had mixed emotions about coming here today. I asked myself will it do any good. What I have said has been shouted from the highest rooftops only to fall upon deaf ears, but I said we must try to save our children or we will cease to exist and this earth will become as barren as the moon. Please save the children!

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for a most moving statement.

Mrs. Johnson.

STATEMENT OF MRS. PATRICIA JOHNSON, TEACHER, PONTIAC CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM

Mrs. JOHNSON. Before beginning my testimony, I want to state that I have never heard an administrator or school board member openly state his or her intention to discriminate against Bagley or any other of the seven Title I schools.

Moreover, I have never heard an administrator or school board member state he was influenced unfavorably because a school's student population consisted of a majority of black and/or low-income families.

However, it is my opinion that this has been the case.

The following statements are based on my own personal experiences as a kindergarten teacher for 6 years at Bagley Elementary School, and, I guess I have to say, a predominantly black school, since there is no such thing as an all-black school in Pontiac.

Currently I am a kindergarten teacher at the Human Resources Center, which was mentioned previously. It is a new school and new philosophy in teaching.

During my first years at Bagley, we did not receive adequate materials or supplies. Dr. Whitmer stated due to the cut in moneys available due to busing, they have had to cut the material expenditure one-third.

I would like to say in the 6 or 7 weeks I have spent at the HRC, as far as school related materials go, I have seen 10 times as many supplies available as I saw at Bagley during my first 6 years, and the HRC is now being run under the Title I plan.

I admit our principal had to go and get these supplies, but they are there. We have far more materials, as far as school supplies.

Earlier, during my years at Bagley, when I requested teaching supplies that I felt were essential for creating a good background for our children, I was asked, "Can't you do an adequate job with what you have got?"

OPPORTUNITY MUST BE PROVIDED

In my opinion this was the underlying philosophy toward our school, toward our children at Bagley. In other words, many of the decisionmakers felt that only an adequate job should be necessary in dealing with children from Bagley. In my opinion, a more than ade-

quate job must be provided for all children. A superior opportunity should and must be provided for all children if they are to compete successfully in today's society.

I don't think you can possibly talk about "my child" and "your child," it has to be all children, and all children have to get this.

I must admit that my room at Bagley didn't look under supplied, but that was due to an expenditure on my own part for things I felt were essential.

Oftentimes when I asked how come these schools that were predominantly white schools have so many more materials and supplies—look at their playgrounds, they have so many more things than we have at Bagley—the answer always came back, "Oh, that is because their parents are so much more interested in their children, they have great parents over there."

As a result of this, I started a kindergarten parents group and as far as I am concerned, I don't think you could beat that group anywhere. They were enthusiastic, they were concerned, they were wholeheartedly behind supporting a group to better the conditions of our classroom.

We had a school fair; we had several bake sales; we even had a Christmas toy party, in order to raise funds to better our conditions.

We purchased a swing set for the playyard, which may not sound like much to you, but to us, it was a lot.

All of a sudden, in my third year, I was told that these fund-raising activities were against school policies and we would have to stop them. I really couldn't understand this, since these same activities were carried on in other schools that were predominantly white. They were bragged about, they were commended. Every time we asked, they said this is why they had these things.

All of a sudden, when our school started to get somewhere by these same methods, it was against school policies. I found this very hard to accept.

As a result of this, many parents that were part of my parents group, began to have problems in believing and understanding things that were said from downtown.

Earlier I touched on the topic of parent participation. I would like to state that it angers me when I continually hear parents in Bagley referred to as "do-nothings," "uninterested parents," because I know for a fact this is not true.

All I had to do was call or write a note home to my parents and they would come in and help, whether it was to wrap Christmas gifts for the children, go on a school field trip, or even help some students who needed reinforcement in a special area.

It has only been in the past 3 years when I was at Bagley that we finally started to receive some of the materials that were just commonly found in other schools, and this was due to Federal funds. We started receiving large Federal grants which finally got us up to a level comparable with other schools.

Now, in many instances we experienced overcrowding in our classrooms, while on the other side of town, in mainly all-white schools, they didn't experience this. Their class sizes were far below average.

I give examples of this: For instance, last year at Bagley, due to a cutback in personnel and funding, two of our four 1st grade teachers were forced to move out of their positions. This left us with two 1st grade teachers, and unbelievable class averages of 33 and 34 pupils.

At the same time at Alcott, a predominantly white school, their 1st grade class averaged 22 or 23, and this same year at Irving, another predominantly white school, they had a 1st grade class with an unbelievable class average of 18 children.

Two years ago at Bagley, I averaged 32 children per session. That is 32 in the morning and 32 in the afternoon, which gives me a total of 64 children that I worked with.

At McConnell, another predominantly black school, they averaged about the same for their total kindergarten sessions.

This same year at Willis School, a school that was predominantly white, the kindergarten teacher there averaged a total between her morning and afternoon classes of 32 children. This was a combined total of both of her classes, where, combined, I had 64.

To make things even worse, after January of that year, she sent five of her children to 1st grade and this left her with an unbelievable average of 12 children in the morning session and, I think, 15 in her afternoon session.

Again, during that same year, an individual was placed as a full-time kindergarten teacher at Wilson School, another predominantly black school. The class size began originally with 18 children in the morning and 22 in the afternoon, but school officials felt this just did not justify the teacher being there all day, so they forced him to get out of his afternoon class and reassign those afternoon children to the remaining sessions. As a result, 11 of his afternoon children were placed in his morning class. This gave him 29 children in the morning. He was then assigned to Alcott School, which I mentioned before, predominantly a white school, to a newly created afternoon class which had 22 children in their session.

To me this is an example of increasing class size in a black school to decrease class size in a white school.

I must admit that the school board and the administration have spent a lot of funds on programs, some of their own funds and some Federal funds. The purpose for these expenditures has been:

1. Create a better understanding of children;
2. Create a sensitivity toward the feelings of others; and
3. Introduce new and innovative teaching materials and techniques in order to create an enriched learning environment for all children.

In my opinion, however, these actions proved ineffective and did not successfully attain intended objectives. The following are examples of these programs, the money spent, their purpose and their outcome.

The Seven School Study Committee of which I was a member was created for the purpose of making recommendations for the improvement of instruction through reading and language arts, community involvement, and participation, and early childhood education.

The responsibilities of this committee were, first of all, to design a Language Arts Program, especially reading, that would be comprehensive in scope and would fully coordinate all local, State, and Federal resources that were available to the school district.

Second, to investigate all factors that affect the growth patterns of students in the identified schools and then develop a plan to concentrate the available resources on those factors over which the school district had control. Finally, to develop a list of recommendations to accomplish these goals.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF SEVEN-SCHOOL STUDY COMMITTEE

One recommendation that emerged was that each of the seven elementary Title I schools should establish one (or more) formal reading readiness rooms.

This is kind of a middle step. A child will go through a full year kindergarten, but if he isn't ready for a reading program, he will go into a reading readiness program. And after 1 year in this program, he would go on to a kind of speeded up first grade. It was understood a class such as this was a necessity if our children were to get a good learning foundation. Last year, when two of our four first grade teachers were forced out of their positions at Bagley, not only was the reading readiness class done away with, but the 18 children I had had for that class were forced into a regular first grade of an unbelievable class size of 34.

An unofficial opinion of this committee was that bias and prejudice were prominent throughout the district. At times the low expectations of decisionmakers toward the achievements of the students in the seven identified schools was contagious. It influenced the attitudes of principals, teachers, and even the children themselves.

Another recommendation resulting from the Seven Schools Study Committee was that an individual with assistant superintendent rank be hired. This individual would be charged with the specific task of upgrading achievement in schools currently below the national norm.

The appointment of an individual by the committee was supported for the following reason—that the cultural patterns of black children have been completely ignored in the educational system today.

Since the cultural pattern and the educational process are inseparable in providing sound instructional programs, the newly appointed assistant superintendent should possess the background to maintain this balance due to his knowledge of the problems, cultural patterns, feelings, needs and frustrations of black youth.

At that time no one was charged specifically with confronting problems arising from this imbalance. The creation of an administrative position to be held by someone who would understand black problems and would support everything possible to erase inadequacies in the educational process was felt to be the key to diminishing discrimination and moving black citizens into the mainstream of society.

It was the consensus of the committee and many citizens that since this was such an immediate problem, the sooner a person was hired into this position, the better, and this person must understand the problem in the Pontiac community.

The following fall not only was the position offered to an individual from a different State, but when he refused the position, realizing how

he was being used, it was decided that we didn't have anybody in our ranks, any black official, that could qualify for the position. It was then decided maybe we really didn't need this position. So the position was deleted, to be taken up at a future date. I believe we are still waiting for this date.

The above are some instances where money was spent for the purpose of obtaining recommendations on how to better the learning environment of children, but when it came to acting on them—somehow they were shelved, not to be acted upon.

The sensitivity training workshop, conducted by Dr. Paige, which required all teachers to attend, but not the main decisionmakers, is another example of funds being spent without obtaining any beneficial effects.

This training was to sensitize the teachers to the feelings of minority groups and to create an understanding and respect for others. In the middle of this training session, a majority of those present stood in support of a local black person, Dr. Purdue, to fill the assistant superintendent position recommended by the Seven Schools Committee. The only reaction to this support was a smile on the part of one of the major decisionmakers present.

Oral Language Workshop

Since time is running short, I will mention only one more program which did not attain its goals. This is the Oral Language Workshop which I attended.

Funds in the area of $10,000 were spent for payment of attending teachers' salaries. Teachers were shown innovative teaching materials and methods to help stimulate the oral language development of their children.

At the conclusion of the workshop, where we were lead to believe that many of these materials would be readily available, we were informed that each of the seven schools would receive only $500 to purchase material for all six grades.

I am sure you realize how far this sum would go in today's material market. When I wanted a set of workbooks introduced at the workshop and offered to purchase them myself, if necessary, my request was turned down three times before it was finally approved.

In my opening remarks I stated that I had never heard a board member or administrator state that he was, in fact, discriminating against any school because of the racial balance present in the student population.

While this is true, I can't help but believe that there are some individuals in a decisionmaking position supposedly working toward the betterment of educational environment for all children in the Pontiac district that, in fact, are not doing so.

At a Whitfield PTA meeting last spring, the busing issue was a predominant part of the discussion. When a school board member who was present was asked about busing and what was going to be done about it, he replied, "Yes, Bagley and Bethune are indeed a devastating and dangerous area and I will do all in my power to protect our children."

I would like to add at this point that for 6 years I made hundreds of home visits and daily drove up and down the streets of this so-called dangerous area and never had even one unpleasant moment.

I feel any person elected to a school board becomes responsible for all children, not for his children, not for his neighbor's child, but for all children. He is not elected to the Whitfield school board, he is elected to the school board for the District of Pontiac. I can't help but believe that anybody who would voice these opinions just could not help but be influenced when it came to a decision that involved children from his home area and children not from his home area.

I just feel that this individual, being a main decisionmaker that he is, often steps into this role of thinking what is best for his own children, not what is best for all children, and they are his responsibility.

Previously I stated if it hadn't been for Federal funds, Bagley would have continued to be under supplied. Federal funds have been a great asset to black areas. Community school programs have increased interest and skills on the part of some children and the community.

But they, too, have areas which could be improved. I have taught both adults and children, so I know that it usually takes about 4 weeks before a program really gets started, before the parents really start coming in. Then things would go along great. We would have good attendance, enthusiasm, and we would start working.

Then, in a few months, the funds would run out and we would stop and wait and wait. Then our funds would come back again and we would start all over again. After a few sessions of this, the parents become disillusioned and uninterested—not so much uninterested, but, I think, discouraged, because they would just get started with something and it was taken away.

Headstart is another example of this. I have been a Headstart teacher many times. Often money would not come in officially until Wednesday or Friday, and the program was scheduled to start on the following Monday, and then people would say, "I just can't understand why Headstart doesn't have the best teachers in the district." Well, not many people can afford to sit around and wait for something like this. Many people have to go out and get what they can.

Federal-Funded Programs

As a result of these situations, many people have become leary of Federal-funded programs from both angles, from the part of a teacher wondering, "Gee, will I have a job next week or not," or from the students, whether it be an adult or a child, they wonder, "If I start in this course and I really work, will it be here next month when I come back or will I have to stop and wait and start all over again?"

Section 3 is a perfect example of decisionmakers not having knowledge about current programs. Section 3 promised many people not only a job, but training for a future better job.

Though it was funded for 2 years, currently it has been stopped, started up slightly, but who knows when it will really become the program it was before.

When we went to Lansing last year to protest over the possible cutting of these funds, I must admit I was really shocked when I got there to find out that some of the legislators, main decisionmakers who were on the appropriations committee, when asked, did not even know what Section 3 money went for and they were the ones to decide where it would be cut and how much.

I might add that one of these individuals represents Pontiac.

In conclusion, I want to state that I feel it is the right of all children to receive equal educational opportunities. I do not feel that in the past this was being done.

Perhaps with the beginning of a new school year, with renewed interest and enthusiasm on the part of parents, teachers, and citizens, we will finally attain this.

I would also like to add that I feel a good education for children does not just involve academics, I think today in the United States, we are faced with many different kinds of people and societies and the children must be provided the opportunities to grow up, go to school with, know and work with and under these children, and that if busing is the way for them to get this opportunity, then that is the way they will have to get it until open housing is really in fact open housing.

Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for a most useful statement.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MRS. PATRICIA JOHNSON

Before beginning my testimony I want to state that I have never heard an administrator or school board member openly state his or her intention to discriminate against Bagley or any other of the seven Title One schools. Moreover, I have never heard of a decision being influenced unfavorably because a school's student population consisted of a majority of black and/or low income families. However, it is my belief that these schools were discriminated against and that we did not receive equal opportunities to create a good learning environment for our children. The following statements made by me are based on my own personal conclusions and opinions as a result of six years as a kindergarten teacher at Bagley School in the School District of the City of Pontiac.

In the time available to me I will attempt to relate experiences in several areas so you may obtain a wide view of what went on rather than concentrate on one specific area of our problem.

During my first years at Bagley we did not receive adequate supplies and materials to work with our children. For example, no orange crayons until almost the end of October—although according to the helping teacher they were readily available to other schools. Now this may not seem important to some people, but try being a kindergarten teacher doing a color, a fall, and a Halloween unit (fundamental teaching units for kindergarten students) under these conditions. I might cite another instance of inadequate supplies that took place 4 years ago. We were told new books would be used the following year in the district. Instead of being allowed to keep our old books until the new ones arrived, they were burned.

When we arrived the following fall to start classes we were greeted with empty shelves. A result of this was an inadequate supply of materials—sometimes only 4 books to use with a science group of 10 to 30 children. Elsewhere in the system this great shortage was not experienced. At one time when I requested various teaching supplies I felt were essential I was asked "Can't you do an adequate job with what you have?" In my opinion this was the underlying philosophy toward our school. In other words, many of the decision makers felt that only an adequate job was all that should be necessary in dealing with our children at Bagley. I feel that a *more* than adequate job should be the goal for anyone working with children. A superior opportunity should and must be provided for all children if they are to compete successfully in today's society. I must admit that my room may not have look undersupplied, but this was due to expenditures on my part for articles I felt were essential for the learning process of the children. When officials were questioned about the surplus of supplies in some all-white schools in the city of Pontiac the answer often came back that through fund-raising activities the parents had purchased the supplies. For a time we also had fund-raising activities at Bagley through the aid of a terrific parent group which worked wholeheartedly toward bettering the conditions of our classroom and playground. Some of our activities were a fair, several bake sales, and even a Christmas toy party, all of which were common fund-raising activities in some all-white schools. However, in my third year my kindergarten parent group

was discouraged from having fund-raising activities on the basis that it was against school policy. Somehow this does not add up—how could it be commended in one area of the district, even bragged about, and then when another area finally started to get somewhere through the same method have it discovered that these activities were against school policy. Inevitably, the parents who had worked so hard to contribute to the limited resources of their school became disillusioned and even embittered.

Earlier I touched briefly on the topic of parent participation. I would like to state that it angers me when I continually hear the terms "uninterested parents, do-nothings," etc. used by the public when referring to parents in my area. As a result of my experience in working with parents at Bagley I can state as fact that it would be impossible to receive greater parent interest and support. All I had to do was call or write a note and parents would show up to help, whether it was to wrap my Christmas gifts for the children, go on a school trip, or to help work with children that needed reinforcement in special skills. I might add that I always had a minimum of 10 parents on every school trip I made.

It has been only in the past few years that Bagley finally started to receive some of the necessary teaching materials and this was due only to the fact that we started receiving Federal funds.

In many instances we experienced over-crowding in our classrooms while on the other side of town classes were operated often at below average and arrangements could have easily been made to even out the situation. Examples of this are:

Last year at Bagley due to a cut back in personnel two of our four first grade teachers were forced to move out of their positions, leaving behind class sizes averaging 33–34 pupils. On the other hand, first grade classes at Alcott, an all-white school, averaged 23. This same year Irving, another all-white school, had a first grade average of only 18 children.

Two years ago at Bagley I averaged 32 children per session, 32 in the morning and 32 in the afternoon. At McConnell, another predominately Black school, the kindergarten sessions averaged the same load. At the same time at Willis school, an all-white school, the total student enrollment of the morning and afternoon kindergarten sessions combined was 32. After January, as a result of moving 5 of the children to a first grade class, the class size at Willis school was further reduced to an unbelievable size of 12 in the morning and 15 in the afternoon.

Again during that same year an individual was assigned as a full time kindergarten teacher to Wilson school which is predominately black. The class size began originally with 18 children in the morning and 22 in the afternoon. However, school officials ruled that this class load did not justify the need for a full-time teacher. As a result, the 22 afternoon children were split up into the remaining sessions. Eleven of these children were assignd to this individual's morning class resulting in a morning class load of 29. Together, then, with a morning class consisting of 29 children at Wilson school, the teacher was assigned to a newly created afternoon session of 22 students at Alcott school, which as I mentioned before is a white school. To me this is an example of how class size in a black school is increased in order to decrease class size in a white school.

The school board and administration have spent a great deal of money, some of their own funds and some federal funds. The purported purpose for these expenditures has been: 1.) Create a better understanding of children, 2.) Create a sensitivity toward the feelings of others, and 3.) Introduce new and innovative teaching materials and techniques in order to create an enriched learning environment for all children. In my opinion, however, these actions proved ineffective and did not successfully attain intended objectives. The following are examples of these programs, the money spent, their purpose and their outcome.

The Seven School Study Committee of which I was a member was created for the purpose of making recommendations for the improvement of instruction through reading and language arts, community involvement, and participation, and early childhood education. The responsibilities of this committee were, first of all, to design a Language Arts Program, especially reading, that would be comprehensive in scope and would fully coordinate all local, state, and federal resources that were available to the school district. Secondly, to investigate all factors that affect the growth patterns of students in the identified schools and then develop a plan to concentrate the available resources on those factors over which the school district had control and, finally, to develop a list of recommendations to accomplish these goals. One recommendation that emerged was that each of the seven elementary schools should establish one (or more) formal reading readiness rooms. This room would provide a step between kindergarten

and grade one. In the fall, children who were not yet ready for formal reading instruction would be placed in this room. It was understood that a class such as this was necessary, a must if you truly wanted to provide children with every possible opportunity to create a sound learning foundation. Last year when two of the four first grade teachers at Bagley were moved this not only did away with our readiness class but forced the 18 children identified to enter this class into a regular first grade with an unbelievable total class size of 34.

An unofficial opinion of this committee was that bias and prejudice were prominent through the district. At times the low expectation of decision makers toward the achievements of the students in the seven identified schools was contagious. It influenced the attitudes of principals, teachers, and even the children themselves.

Another recommendation resulting from the Seven Schools Study Committee was that an individual with assistant superintendent rank be hired. This individual would be charged with the specific task of upgrading achievement in schools currently below the national norm. The appointment of an individual by the committee was supported for the following reason—that the cultural patterns of black children have been completely ignored in the educational system today. Since the cultural pattern and the educational process are inseparable in providing sound instructional programs, the newly appointed assistant superintendent should possess the background to maintain this balance due to his knowledge of the problems, cultural patterns, feelings, needs and frustrations of black youth. At that time no one was charged specifically with confronting problems arising from this imbalance. The creation of an administrative position to be held by someone who would understand black problems and would support everything possible to erase inadequacies in the educational process was felt to be the key to diminishing discrimination and moving black citizens into the mainstream of society.

It was the consensus of the committee that this position was imperative and indeed one of the most crucial of their recommendations. Due to the urgency of the problems it was felt that immediate appointment of an individual familiar with the Pontiac situation was necessary. The following fall not only was the position offered to an individual from a different state, but when this individual realized how he was being used and refused the position, it was stated that we had no black member of our district that could qualify for the position. It was then decided that maybe the position wasn't really needed. As a result the position was deleted and earmarked for discussion at a later date.

The above are some instances where money was spent for the purpose of obtaining recommendations on how to better the learning environment of children, but when it came to acting on them—somehow they were shelved not to be acted upon.

The sensitivity training workshop, conducted by Dr. Paige, which required all teachers to attend, but not the main decision makers, is another example of funds being spent without obtaining any beneficial effects. This training was to sensitize the teachers to the feelings of minority groups and to create an understanding and respect for others. In the middle of this training session a majority of those present stood in support of a local black person to fill the assistant superintendent position recommended by the Seven Schools Committee. The only reaction to this support was a smile on the part of one of the major decision makers present.

Since time is running short I will mention only one more program which did not attain its goals. This is the Oral Language workshop which I attended. Funds in the area of $10,000 were spent for payment of attending teachers' salaries. Teachers were shown innovative teaching materials and methods to help stimulate the oral language development of their children. At the conclusion of the workshop where we were lead to believe that many of these materials would be readily available we were informed that each of the seven schools would receive only $500 to purchase material for all six grades. I am sure you realize how far this sum would go in today's material market. When I wanted a set of workbooks introduced at the workshop and offered to purchase them myself, if necessary, my request was turned down three times before it was finally approved.

In my opening remarks I stated that I had never heard a board member or administrator state that he was in fact discriminating against any school because of the racial balance present in the student population. While this is true I can't help but believe that there are some individuals in a decision making position supposedly working toward the betterment of educational environment for *all* children in the Pontiac district that, in fact, are not doing so. At a Whitfield

PTA meeting last spring the busing issue was a predominant part of the discussion. When a school board member who was present was asked about busing and what was going to be done about it, he replied, "Yes, Bagley and Bethune are indeed a devastating and dangerous area and I will do all in my power to protect *our* children." I would like to add at this point that for 6 years I made 100's of home visits and daily drove up and down the streets of this so called dangerous area and never had even one unpleasant moment. In my opinion once you are elected to a position on any school board your responsibility lies in making decisions that are best for *all* children, regardless of their race or where they live. I can not help but believe that any individual with this point of view would be unable to make an impartial decision on proposals that involved children from his own home area and those that did not.

Previously I stated that if it hadn't been for federal funds Bagley would have continued to be under supplied. Federal funds have been a great asset to black areas. Community school programs have increased interest and skills on the part of some children and the community. But they too have areas which could be improved. Since I was a teacher in one of these programs I know that it takes about four weeks before the adults realize what is being offered. Then they would start coming and their enthusiasm was apparent. Things would progress on a good level for a few months, then the funds would run out. We would have to stop and wait to be refunded, then the process would start all over again. After a few sessions attendance would fall off and people became disgusted. Another program was the Headstart Program. Many times the funds did not come in officially until a Wednesday or Friday and the program was scheduled to start the following week. Then people wondered why the best teachers weren't always hired. Not many people can sit around and wait for something that might not come. As a result of this people have become extremely leary of federally funded programs since you never know if tomorrow you will have a job, or on the other hand whether your class will go on for another month or not.

Section 3 is a perfect example of decision makers not having knowledge about current programs. Section 3 promised many people not only a job, but training for a future job. A majority of people in the program were on ADC or receiving some type of assistance. It gave people hope, a chance to better themselves and their future. Funds ran out, even though it was funded for 2 years and who knows when it will start up again. Last spring when a group of us went to Lansing to protest to our Legislators over the possible cutting of these funds I was shocked to discover that people on the appropriations committee who would decide how much and where funds were to be cut did not even know what the Section 3 funds were issued for. I might add that one of these individuals represented the Pontiac area.

In conclusion I want to state that I feel it is the right of all children to receive equal educational opportunities. I do not feel that in the past this was being done. Perhaps with the beginning of a new school year with renewed interest and enthusiasm on the part of parents, teachers, and citizens we will finally attain this.

Senator MONDALE. Both of you have had experience in the Pontiac schools before the court order requiring desegregation.

Now both of you are in the school system while the school system has been integrated.

In your opinion, which is the better system? Which offers the most hope and opportunity for the school children or is there a difference?

INTEGRATED SYSTEM BETTER

Mrs. JOHNSON. I would like to state, actually, being in the HRC, which is finished, but not finished as far as construction, it is a little difficult to say, but as far as materials and things, and comparing to the materials we received at Bagley, not counting Federal funds, that there is a better opportunity.

Senator MONDALE. You base your judgment solely on the availability of materials, or do you think there is some value in having school children from different races and backgrounds in the same school?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Oh, I definitely feel that, yes. Like I stated before, I feel that education is not an education unless this is provided. I don't think you could call a child fully educated, in 12 grades or college, if he has never learned about other people.

Senator MONDALE. Mrs. Walker, would you take a crack at that, please?

Mrs. WALKER. I agree with Pat in essence in that the total education of a human being depends on learning about other kinds of people, and we have these vicarious educations, when we study about China and Japan and the Indians, and yet, right here in this country, in the same city, perhaps only a few minutes away, we have people of different cultures and backgrounds, but who have on destiny, one fate, and supposedly one brotherhood but who are afraid of one another.

So I think that the children are receiving this in my school in that they have found out some things. For one thing, the black children have found out that although there are whites, some whites who are not good students or academically gifted, and that there are white children finding there are black students that are. Another thing that black students are finding out is that they have been cheated as they look around the room and see, on the whole, that the white students have received a better education. In some schools this is causing problems as the black students see that white students can read better than they can, not all of them, mind you, but speaking in terms of averages, on the average, being honest, this is happening.

So therefore, they strike out. Many times they strike out at the teachers, the building, one another, and sometimes at that white student because he is accessible.

But I think now we will get the materials and supplies and the good teachers, and I am not saying there were bad teachers in the past, but some of the worst teachers b'ack and white were in some of the predominantly black schools, as well as some of the best teachers. We had more of the worst. There are bad teachers in our white schools, but if you want to relate as to who got the worst end, we got the worst end.

Senator MONDALE. Do you believe the average child in the Pontiac school system will have a better chance now that the schools have been desegregated than before?

Mrs. WALKER. I definitely feel that way and pray that it will be true.

Senator MONDALE. Do you agree with that?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Hart.

Senator HART. Thank you.

I will make a brief comment, not to delay the Chairman's desire to get to his office in order to take care of some business, just let me thank you very much for coming.

Senator MONDALE. Congressman Conyers.

Mr. CONYERS. May I say I have been much impressed by the testimony I have heard here today. I want to thank you, Senator, for inviting me and permitting me to join in these hearings.

And the two teachers have, I think, added in a great way to our insight and overview of the prob'em. I commend them for their courage to come here and to speak as directly as they have to these questions.

Senator MONDALE. It is very helpful. I am delighted you could be with us today. There is no question but what your insights into this problem have strengthened the record.

It is amazing how little this country has looked at the problems we are looking at today, some of which are very ugly and unfair. If we can't solve this problem, the promise of this country is far diminished.

Senator HART. Mr. Chairman, as we now have heard the final witness scheduled to be heard in the 5 days of testimony, I, too, want to thank Senator Mondale for undertaking what is a big assignment. It is consistent with his record here in the Congress and his leadership in Minnesota.

ISSUES MUST BE RESOLVED

We have to recognize that our survival probably hinges in an important way on resolving the issue that, in its myriad aspects, is the underlying factor of the things we are talking about these days.

As he says, if a nation, given so many warnings, is not to become a people at war with each other, it must not fail to heed those warnings.

One of those warnings, one in a long series, come from the Eisenhower Commission on Violence. The Commission warned that we are threatened with the prospect of decaying, savage cities and armed suburbs. I haven't heard anybody really dispute that proposition, and the consequences of it. You need no Ph. D. to predict that future.

Here again we have limited tools at hand to relieve it, to turn it around. Today we have been talking about a situation where a Federal court has found that schools were segregated as a result of deliberate public policy. As I told the superintendent, you either fix it or forget the constitution, for as I said, I saw no Mason-Dixon Line in the constitution.

And there is an answer, there is a national policy. We say if it offends the 14th amendment we fix it. Now it is easier to say that than to get it fixed. Again, the tools are limited. We are responding to an inheritance of several hundreds of years of neglect and worse. But the fact that we have very feeble tools to respond, and that the prospects of success may be beyond our generation excuses none of us for not using the limited tools at hand, and in some circumstances, the yellow bus is that limited tool.

Now, if you want to outlaw that, I think history will be very harsh on you. It is not magic, but who has magic for an answer. Nobody. The bus under certain circumstances, is something available to relieve at least in part the deprivation of a constitutonal right.

Let us understand what we are debating when we consciously throw away one of the very feeble weapons we have to attempt to reverse a pattern of piling black on black and white on white, of deeper and deeper guilt growing decade after decade, until all of us together go over the cliff.

That is what this debate is all about, we ought to understand it.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MONDALE. That is a very fine statement.

This officially closes the hearings on Equal Educational Opportunity in Michigan and, of course, we will be going over the record very carefully to find out what recommendations can be made.

One thing that clearly comes out of this, something which has been obvious to many for years, is that this is no longer just a Southern problem, this is a national problem, and those who have felt it was different can disabuse themselves right away.

I hope we can come up with recommendations and provisions to set us on a positive course, because it seems to me that this could well be the turning point.

We have done a lot of things quietly, we have passed fair housing, it hasn't worked. Even today I think I heard it as an excuse.

Senator HART. That is the other tool we heard about. But "How Long, O Lord," how long. Just try and get low- and moderate-income housing into those suburbs and then you will find out how long.

Senator MONDALE. They say, well, let's do it through housing.

Senator HART. But in somebody else's community.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

The committee is in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 4:10 p.m., the Select Committee was recessed, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

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